The Forum

AUGUST, 1896.

MR. GODKIN ON THE WEST: A PROTEST.

THIS is a protest. Protests are like pills—some do good to the taker, some to the giver, some to both, and some to neither. If this protest does no good, its temper is such that it will do no harm. It is made good-naturedly by an average western business man on behalf of the West, and against that part of the metropolitan press which is unfair, unkind, and unwise in its treatment of the West. I recently observed two instances of this.

THE FORUM for May last contains an article entitled "The Political ...ion," written by Mr. E. L. Godkin, the editor of the New York ...ning Post." The "New York Herald" of June 6, 1896, contains ...itorial nearly a column in length with this black-letter title: ... McKinley is sure to be nominated, for we don't think Big Hat ...rison has the slightest chance."

Both these articles are blunders.

...r. Godkin's contentions are that the chief political questions now ...e the country are those of the currency and the tariff; that both ...e questions are sequelæ of the civil war; that neither was known ... question of national importance prior to the war; that following ... war the apprehension was that there would be disturbances in the ...th and difficulty about the return of the army to peaceful pursuits, ...t that instead of these, the troublesome questions proved to be those ... the currency and the tariff; that the decision of the Supreme Court ... the United States upholding the greenback legislation fixed the ... idea firmly in the minds of the people; that the free-silver theory

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and the greenback theory are identical, and that both are mere branches of the protective theory. In elaborating this argument he makes, among many others, the following statements:—

"The currency problem is made all the more complicated by the attitude of the West toward the East. That there is a line dividing the two regions has been for a long time vaguely perceived, but it was never so clearly defined as by the war feeling and by the silver question. Speaking generally, the bulk of whatever there was of pugnacity toward England after Mr. Cleveland's Message was to be found west of the Alleghanies; and, speaking generally, also, it may be said that the principal support of the silver standard is to be found west of the Alleghanies. It is accompanied in both cases by a dislike or distrust of the East, which is partly social and partly financial, and covers also European countries, but principally England. The social dislike or distrust would need an article to itself. The financial is, in the main, that of a borrowing for a creditor community, and that of a new agricultural community for one which is devoted mainly to the business of selling commodities and exchanging money. It is composed, in part, of the old dislike of the farmer for the financier, and in part that of the poor debtor for the rich creditor. Behind it all lies great ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations, and of the other forms of society than those by which western men are surrounded, combined with an immense sense of power. It is difficult to make a western man understand that a country of 70,000,000 of inhabitants cannot do anything that it has a fancy to do, including the circulation of silver at a fixed ratio. It is also difficult to persuade him that a well-dressed man with superfine manners does not cherish evil designs of some sort. He does not see how the great fortunes he hears of in the East have been honestly acquired, and he, therefore, would hear with equanimity of the bombardment of eastern cities. He brooks very ill the unconscious assumption of superiority which the long cultivation of the social art brings with it in older countries, and thinks it the main business of the American abroad to resent this by threats and defiance.

"Among the mass of western people, a knowledge of the conditions of foreign exchange is scanty. The notion that a nation with $1,600,000,000 of foreign commerce can be a law unto itself in commercial matters, and that it is easy to create financial conditions which will cut us off from the rest of the world, is still rife in that part of the country. In fact, it would not be too much to say that, in spite of a high degree of culture at certain points, the West is suffering all the observed consequences of too great isolation,—that is, want of more contact with other social conditions and other forms of civilization. All genuine and steady progress thus far has come from intercourse with foreigners and familiarity with their point of view, and readiness to adopt whatever is best and most suitable in their ideas, manners, or customs. This has been true from the earliest times, is, in fact, the most familiar phenomenon of advancing civilization. The greatest danger the Valley of the Mississippi runs to-day is the danger of living in its own ideas,—the belief that Providence still creates peculiar peoples.

"Escape from the silver idea is not likely to be easy. The protective idea is incorporated with it. The belief that silver is a commodity, not simply a measure of value, has taken possession of the western mind. The notion that it is, therefore, as much entitled to protection as any other commodity, by any means within reach of the Government, is not easily dislodged, so long as the protective theory prevails at the East. . . . The western man is a protectionist, too, but he

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wishes to push the plan farther, and he has concocted a theory of currency to go along with it. A self-supporting, Europe-defying country, producing everything it wants for its own use, including its own money, is his idea of a state. . . .

"That these ideas will be overcome, except by actual experiment, seems unlikely. If the currency should, by the next election, fall into the hands of a Government dominated by the ideas of the silverites, we must be prepared for deliverance through a panic of very great magnitude. This is the way, as a general rule, the financial heresies of a democracy are dissipated. Books are not read, or theorists much listened to. The thing has to be tried. . . .

"Much the same things may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the tariff question." . . .

If all readers of Mr. Godkin's article were familiar with his methods as a political writer, what he says would do no harm. But under the circumstances it is a most pernicious piece of literature. It is composed of a skeleton of prejudices adroitly clothed with truths, half truths, and assumptions, the whole being thoroughly bad. Its badness is all the worse because of Mr. Godkin's high personal character and pretensions as demonstrated in part by his clean and in many ways most admirable newspaper. His objectionable method, briefly described, is that of the special pleader, who determines first what he desires to prove, and then produces the facts, or alleged facts, with which the proof shall be made. This is the reverse of the scientific method, and results in making Mr. Godkin the bitter partisan that he is—especially in his hostility to other partisans. It is a method which is particularly illegitimate in any exclusive forum like the pulpit or the school-room or the printed page.

Mr. Godkin is not personally familiar in any broad sense with the people living west of the Alleghanies. He looks at these people through the twisted lens of his own dislike—not to say hatred—of sundry men, measures, parties, and publications which he assumes are representative of the whole West. This assumption is brutal and unintelligent. On the other hand my own convictions concerning the West are based on a lifetime of close contact with all the larger communities between the Alleghanies and the Pacific, except those of the southern States east of the Mississippi River. I have scrutinized these communities from the points of observation of the student, the editor, the lawyer, the business man, and the general observer. I have taken careful note of the temper, convictions, and general characteristics of the western people, and I assert with positive conviction that there is no such "attitude" of the West toward the East as that described by Mr. Godkin.

On the contrary, the attitude of the West toward the East is of the

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most friendly character. It is natural that this should be so; it is impossible that it should be otherwise. The western people came from the East, or their ancestors did; and almost without exception they are bound to the East by the closest ties of consanguinity. They have taken pains to go East and to study the East. To them the East is "back," while to the eastern people the West is "out." They are proud of the great interests and institutions of the East. They feel that the East stands between them and Europe, and that thereby our country presents a majestic front to the Old World. They have been principally educated in the East; and their preachers, teachers, physicians, and intellectual leaders generally are of eastern training. Their systems of law and government are from the East. All the literature they read above the local newspaper is from the East; their educational methods are adopted from eastern standards. Every western banker or financier watches the chiefs of his profession in the East as pupils watch their teachers. Western merchants go East for their goods. Western people seeking recreation go East for their rest. There is no possible room, in short, for any such general feeling of hostility as Mr. Godkin describes.

There are certainly instances of bitterness toward the East. But such bitterness arises from individual experiences and is in no sense typical of the whole. There are men and communities in the West that entertain a resentful feeling toward the East, because of some particular business disagreement, or other similar reason, but the reverse is also true, just as it is true that there are those in Philadelphia who dislike New York, and those in New York who dislike Boston. The hostile individuals in the West are not to be taken seriously as representing the whole West, any more than Mr. Godkin and the "Herald" are to be accepted as fairly representing the attitude of the East toward the West. The belligerency following Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela Message was not western any more than eastern. Mr. Godkin's beloved President, of William Street, New York city, and that President's cabinet counsellor, the Secretary of State, of Boston, Massachusetts, issued the Venezuela Message. It was not issued by Mr. Altgeld or Mr. Peffer, or by Mr. Teller or Mr. Stewart. The newspapers of New York and Massachusetts were more nearly a unit in support of the Message than the newspapers of the West. I do not remember that any newspapers in New York withheld their support of the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted by the President, except Mr. Godkin's "Post" and Mr. Pulitzer's "World." For once I was in hearty accord

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with both papers, so fatally inopportune did the Message seem, considering the financial situation.

I am sure that only the gimlet eye of Mr. Godkin could discover in the support of the Monroe Doctrine anything peculiarly western. That doctrine was not invented in the West, but more nearly in England; its maintenance is of less consequence to the West than to the East; the poll of the newspapers, the vote in Congress, the origin of the Message, and the direct importance of the non-enlargement of European possessions in America,—all combine to indicate far more interest in the subject among the dwellers of the Atlantic Coast than among the people of the interior. Those unfortunate investors who were hit by falling prices were the only people particularly disgruntled by the effects of the Message. So far as Mr. Godkin is concerned there is a painful suspicion abroad that if the Venezuela Message had not been objectionable to England it would not have been objectionable to Mr. Godkin.

Ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations cannot successfully be charged against the West, especially in view of the history of the western people. Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland—are all cities with very great foreign populations. All the States in which these and similar cities are located have large percentages of foreign-born citizens. The gold- and silver-producing States have from 25 to 50 per cent of foreign-born voters. Colorado has always been peculiarly in the hands of Englishmen. Most of the mines in all these States are owned in Europe. The markets chiefly relied on by all the great western producers are European markets. In the West, the producers of cotton, corn, wheat, cattle, and the manufactured products growing out of these primary products, such as dressed meats, flour, etc., all have their eyes fixed intently on the European markets. The eastern manufacturer is looking to the West, but the western producer is looking to the Far East. There, and there only, does he find the chief market for his own surplus.

The parts of the western population which can justly be charged with too great isolation and with an excessive ignorance of foreign affairs, are not the parts which are giving Mr. Godkin annoyance. Such people are inactive and ineffective in politics, and do not appear as framers and advocates of improper legislation. Such people find their counterpart in the East, and the one is at least an offset to the other. In fact the inferior parts of the population of New York and the other

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great eastern cities, as also of certain mining and manufacturing regions, are much worse and more to be feared than the corresponding parts of the western population. It may be observed, also, that the most dangerous "isolation" is not so much geographical as intellectual. The worst form of isolation is isolation from the truth. It was isolation of this kind that caused Thomas Carlyle to take the wrong side of the American question at the time of the nation's peril. Other great men have gone wrong by the same path.

Of social dislike for the East there is practically not any. The average citizens of the East and the West are, for all political purposes, indistinguishable. Those more fortunate than the average are positively not distinguishable. In dress, manners, tastes, and opinions, the East and the West are, to the eye of the skilful observer, a unit. So rapid are the means of communication, and so constant is the mingling of eastern and western people, that no distinct line of cleavage between the two can be discovered. The eastern wholesale merchant cannot do otherwise than keep in tune with his western client. The eastern and western politicians must mix and cooperate. The great church organizations and the fraternities and the political parties bind the East and the West with bonds more enduring than steel, and utterly prevent the sectionalism which arrays brother against brother, and blood against blood. There is to-day more difference between the people of almost any two counties of England than between the people of any two general sections in the United States, excepting only the foreign quarters of the great cities and the few exclusive Indian, Mexican, and African communities.

It is undoubtedly true that the West is a debtor community, rather than a creditor community, but so is the United States. If the debtor class is bound to hate the creditor class, then the eastern part of the United States is bound to do more hating than the Western part, because statistics show that its debt is greater. The West knows that however much it may owe it expects to take in more than it pays out, and that therefore the better the money received the better its net income will be. It was this conviction that made Kansas Republicans send a delegation to St. Louis almost solid for the gold standard, there being but two or three exceptions. One of these exceptions was so amply exploited in the "Post" that the casual reader would never have gathered that any sentiment except the free-silver sentiment was at home among Kansas Republicans. Opinions as to the great fortunes owned in the East, and the honesty of their acquirement, are the

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opinions of individuals, and not of regions or localities. The question of fortunes honestly or dishonestly acquired depends, in the West, as in the East, first, on what fortune one is talking about, and second, on what one calls honesty. I am sure I have heard more fault found about eastern fortunes by eastern than by western people. The western people have been thoroughly educated to a knowledge of what luck will do for a man wholly outside the question of honesty; during the last half century they have never been out of speaking distance with great wealth, made, to their certain knowledge, by fortune alone, and with which they could find no fault. Town building, railroad building, mining, real estate speculation—in thousands of ways the western man has learned that the pauper of to-day may be the millionaire of to-morrow. The settled conditions of the East, however, are such as to practically prevent one man from far outstripping his fellow men, except by some process of sharp practice. I am perfectly confident that there is more rebellious feeling in the East to-day, on account of the great fortunes of the East, than there is in the West. If Wall Street, Broadway, and Fifth Avenue are ever "bombarded," the Goths and Vandals who do it will not be from west of the Alleghanies, as Mr. Godkin seems to expect, but from the shores of Europe or the shores of Manhattan Island, Long Island, and Jersey. At that time the West will come over the Alleghanies to the rescue and charge nothing for the service.

But, assuming that the West is suspicious of the great eastern fortunes, this might easily be accounted for by the fact that the West reads the metropolitan press and remembers what it has to say of Wall Street and the money power of the East. Mr. Godkin's paper never fails to damn every successful manufacturer this side of England, and Mr. Pulitzer, in the "World," tried to demonstrate to all the country that Mr. Godkin's President and his Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. Godkin's fellow-citizen, Mr. Morgan, and his associates, were guilty of a wicked and unpatriotic job of financial surgery on an already suffering country. The West certainly has no hand in conducting either the "Evening Post" or the "World."

The cheap-money idea is by no means a western invention. As Mr. Godkin points out in his article, the debasement of the currency, or the inflation of it, has been a common trick in all ages. The founder of the Greenback party in this country was Mr. Peter Cooper of New York. Among its ablest advocates were Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts. The ablest advocates

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of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 1873 are found in England, and the ablest in this country are found in the East, as, for example, Senator Don Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and William P. St. John, banker, of New York. The West has never voted for fiat money, and this would still be true if it had voted for free silver. For only gross unfairness can treat as identical the fiat-money doctrine of Peter Cooper and a belief in the practicability of maintaining the ratio between gold and silver which existed for many years prior to 1873. I am a firm believer that no such ratio can wisely be maintained under present conditions, but I am also a firm believer that no man is necessarily convicted of fiatism just because he believes that such ratio can be maintained. It is a complex and delicate question, and thousands of sincere and intelligent men honestly believe that the old ratio can be and should be restored.

The "Evening Post" of June 27 alludes to a recent letter by Mr. William C. Whitney, the high-priest of the Democratic party in the East, in the following language:—

> **"This passion for a promise of a conference [looking to the establishment of bimetallism by international agreement] keeps the ignorant masses of the South and West in constant expectation and constant irritation. . . . The latest contributor to this literature of mischief is Mr. W. C. Whitney. . . . As usual, he tells the silverites their cause is good and its triumph is coming. . . . This is the kind of talk which, coming from such quarters, keeps the silver movement alive in this country, and keeps or will keep us, for some time to come, in constant danger of its success."**

From this it appears that the silver guilt is about equally divided between the ignorant West and the mischievous Mr. Whitney. Truly the editor of the "Post" is beset!

The West can see no reason why it should hesitate to admit its inferiority in many respects to the East. It is proud of what it has achieved in a few years, but it understands that it takes time for great oaks to grow from little acorns. Less than a century of victorious warfare against the wilderness has made the country West of the Alleghanies what it is, and any American who is not proud of that achievement is blind to the truth, and niggardly in patriotism. The West appreciates this, but it does not on that account shy at good clothes and sulk at aggregations of wealth and power which long life and great prosperity, built chiefly on the development of the West, enable the East to enjoy.

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Speaking of power, I do not believe that the time has yet arrived when any part of this country comes anywhere near a proper appreciation of the power of our nation. If this power is comprehended anywhere, it is in the West, and not in the East. The whole East wholly underrates the resources and capabilities of the country. The peculiar power of the creditor countries, as exercised by Europe over America, is certainly to be watched and dreaded by those immediately engaged in the manipulation of evidences of debt; but outside the immediate circle in which such business is carried on, Europe should have no terrors for America; for we can do without Europe better than Europe can do without us. This is said in no braggart spirit. I do not wish to have America otherwise than intimate with Europe, and I hope always for the largest and fullest interchange of commodities, ideas, and affections. But the fact remains that we have on our continent all that we absolutely need to have. Europe, on the other hand, wants back the money she has loaned to us, and she needs also our gigantic annual crop of tourist money—say $200,000,000—on which she so largely depends. She must have what we, and we alone, can give.

It is unquestionably true that the average stay-at-home citizen of the East has entirely failed to measure the muscle of the West—or better yet, the muscle of the country. We have all been recently amused by Mr. Depew's "discovery" of California. After a long life of activity, with countless trips to Europe and elsewhere, it is only within the last three or four years that he has penetrated farther west than Chicago, and only this year that he has ventured beyond Denver, which is itself but a trifle farther than half-way across the continent. Mr. Depew is an example of a large class. The East certainly does not appreciate what this country is able to do if necessity requires. It would not be the burden for us to maintain free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, regardless of the rest of the world, that it has been for France to take care of the debt saddled on her by the Franco-Prussian war, nor would it be half so difficult as it was to take care of our own debt after the civil war.

The article from the "Herald," to which reference has been made, is one of those dignified and cultured productions which seem to appear, with unaccountable frequency, in what is, in some respects, the world's greatest newspaper. After an allusion to one of the most dignified statesmen of the age as "Mr. Big Hat Harrison," it goes on to say:—

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"We have great hopes that Mr. McKinley will be nominated, for then the Republican party will stand a good chance of being defeated on its merits, as it simply represents the provincial narrow-minded Jacobinism of the West, and that diseased part of a great nation. It is time that the United States of America should assert itself and get rid of its swaddling-clothes of buncombe and nonsense, and that men like the buncombe Senator from South Carolina who toady to, and encourage, the worst kind of western wildness should be turned down."

The sublime stupidity of this paragraph itself furnishes the severest possible criticism. It leaves the "Herald" in this, as in many other lines, without a rival. It is impossible to see by what right Tillman is "pitch-forked" onto the West, especially since Mr. Godkin has located the West beyond the Alleghanies. The "Herald" must be congratulated on realizing the first part of its wish, but still it will be wondered which the "Herald" now prefers,—the platform and the candidates of the Republican party, or the platform and the candidates of its own party. Judging from the folly of the paragraph quoted, the "Herald" probably persists in adhering to the Chicago product of its own party. There is no accounting for tastes.

The West is ready to stand by the record it has made, and though it may be in a manner and to some degree ignorant, provincial, isolated, envious, and otherwise bad, it yet remembers that it has given to this country its Lincoln, its Grant, its Shermans, and thousands of others whose services to the country and to humanity have been beyond measure. It also remembers that it has borne the heat and the burden of the day, in peace and in war, in business and in politics—having always had a preponderance of power since the time when the centre of population moved down the western slope of the Alleghanies into the great valley. The record is a glorious one, and I am glad to feel certain that eastern people generally know it and appreciate it—a few of their editors to the contrary notwithstanding.

CHARLES S. GLEED.

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THE FINANCIAL BRONCO.

THE roots of the silver craze are below the reach of any possible chill from the next election, and, if a change of Administration fails to bring what the Far West calls "prosperity," the top will soon be green with more lusty life than ever. The ignorance of the West about the business methods of our country and of the world, full knowledge of which will alone settle the silver question in any sound mind, is equalled only by the ignorance of the East about the average western mind and the way to reach it.

With three classes all argument is useless:—the mine owners and all who profit by them,—who will always clamor for free silver (for, to hold his claim, the proprietor of a Rocky Mountain pocket borough has to be a zealot,—and a howling zealot); the Fiatists, whom no reasoning will ever touch; and the Populists, who are quite as firmly entrenched behind a general defiance of history and human nature.

A large majority of the more intelligent voters of the Far West are for sound money; but this is not because they generally understand the subject. It is mainly because they know that money bad at financial centres is very bad money in the backwoods. They do not believe that the climate, scenery, and expectations of the United States can —even with the aid of the cranks of the whole Union,—force a financial policy upon its men, money, and business. Nor do they think it necessarily patriotic to talk of being financially independent of England, and of making money to suit themselves instead of the Rothschilds. They have a suspicion that that may be Yankee conceit of the cheapest western type. On the question of patriotism they are quite willing to follow the lead of the great sections that poured out the men, money, and munitions of war that saved the Union, and to which we would have to look again in case of foreign war.

The great weakness of the country is in the medium or average intelligence of the West, and this spreads well toward the Alleghanies. A vast body of this thinks that silver is discriminated against, whereas it should be favored as a home product; and that if it had the same standing before the law as gold it would win on its merits. The

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expectation of the votes of this class is the backbone of the silver cause, and without them there would be little left of the above three classes at any election. The East has wasted much of the reading matter sent West because it does not know the audience. Caustic editorials refusing "gold-bug literature" sent on free plates have been a common thing for two years past; many plates have been melted for their metal, and little of the printed matter would be read if published. Too much of it is as thousand-pound shot fired to breach a fog bank, when sunshine is needed; and much of it proceeds on the theory that the larger the game the more the need of a blunderbuss to cover the whole instead of a rifle to reach the vitals.

If ever an animal needed approaching on the blind side it is the "financial bronco" of the West; for the whole trouble is largely a development of the bronco disposition. Take the gentlest old nag that ever made one mile an hour with the village parson through New Jersey mud, and turn him out to grass where vast plains roll away toward great mountains,—where people begin to talk of climate and scenery, and especially of "the invigorating properties of our ozone,"—and in a few days he will be a far livelier and more vigorous animal. The effect on people is much the same, and one of its first results is a suspicion of anything from the East in the line of education on money.

Most of the arguments of the East assume a knowledge of trade that the West does not possess. Most western people suppose, when a cargo of tea is bought from China, or coffee from Brazil, that the payment is made in silver as a matter of course, because those are considered silver countries; and consequently that, if silver were coined at the ratio of 16 to 1 instead of 32 to 1, we could buy twice the amount of the product of those countries with the same amount of silver. So the reiterated talk about a fifty-cent dollar, so effective among those who know that money is but a conventional creature of confidence stamped to show that it has passed inspection for weight and fineness, is completely neutralized in the West by the question, "And who made it a fifty-cent dollar?" followed by the inevitable answer, "The United States." The argument must go back of that and show how the world, just as inexorably as the United States, will also make it a fifty-cent dollar in every country having its ports open.

The East seems unaware that one of the strongest pillars of the silver cause to-day is the alleged prosperity of Mexico; yet I have made at least fifty silver men admit that Mexico is on the same basis that we were on during the war—a gold basis with gold out of circulation.

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For, if there is any sense in the words "basis" and "standard," they mean a regulator of values or measure of commodities. If Congress should make the copper cent the standard and give it full legal-tender powers, it would not change our situation in the slightest. If the face value of the circulation makes the basis, then we are on a paper basis; if the number of coins, then on a nickel or small-silver basis. In no way are we on a gold basis *except by being subject to its sway as the regulator of all prices.* Thus it regulates in Mexico the prices of all imported goods, all domestic goods of the same lines, by sympathy *all* goods of similar lines, to a less extent even goods that are not the subject of international trade, and also labor. The price of an article made in Mexico is the price of the foreign article in gold, plus the duty, plus the premium paid for insurance against fluctuations on exchange, minus just enough to catch the trade. The money one hears of being made in manufactures there is made in catching, in Mexican money, the difference between gold and silver values and the insurance against exchange fluctuations varying from 5 to 10 per cent. At Juarez almost everthing in the stores is listed in "Moneda Americana," and along the whole border everything is measured by American money.

Any one of our dollars will in Mexico buy about twice as much, including labor, as one of its own. If our fiat can raise silver to 16 to 1, then we have either reduced by a half the purchasing power of our dollar in Mexico or doubled the value of the Mexican dollar. If the latter, then we have doubled the ability of Mexico to pay her national debt, and it would seem that we have done the same for China and other countries. Verily, there is something funny about this; but not half so funny as the East allowing the silverites to flaunt, as the proudest feather in their cap, the alleged prosperity of Mexico. How is Mexico prosperous? In a way that should shame Americans. We would know no depressions if we had the same proportion of people contented to live within their means, as few polite "deadbeats," and as many who will keep their word as do the poor peons of Mexico when they promise to work out a debt. And we can take lessons in national honor from a country that is paying *in gold* the interest on a debt more than seventy years old, triply compounded and with almost a total failure of consideration to start with.

Great and many are the dupes who believe in the efficacy of "legal tender." Before there was such a thing there was sound money, and business moved along as international business now does, without any legal tender. Money contracts were settled just like con-

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tracts for goods, by the tender of a merchantable article. Any court would rule that bankable money discharged the contract, because it was presumptive evidence of merchantable money. In time it became convenient to make this presumption conclusive for such money as the Government coined, because the Government's certificate was the best proof of weight and fineness. Legal tender is rarely used except in cases of disputed account, where it merely discharges interest and costs. The tender must be kept good so that the money cannot be safely invested pending suit. Witnesses to the tender are necessary, with the risk of having them die or be absent when wanted. Several other technicalities must be observed, and a safe tender in gold cannot under the peculiar wording of the law be made with worn coin. Most of the States now allow offer of judgment on suit brought, which plaintiff must accept or pay costs. This is a matter of record, and is so much safer and even cheaper than producing witnesses in court that no attorney who understands his business will advise a formal legal tender in any suit of consequence. In some States, as in California, a written offer to perform the stipulations of the contract has the effect of a legal tender. The judgment is settled in any kind of money, attorneys and sheriffs being the last people to demand legal tender or to clamor for "primary money," or "money of ultimate redemption." I find that not one business man in ten has ever seen a legal tender made with anything; and after hundreds of enquiries I have found but one who ever saw a legal tender made in silver for any sum, and he said that he had once tendered one hundred and seventy-five dollars in silver just for spite.

The East understands all this so well that it assumes the West understands it also. On the contrary, the West is stark mad over the words "legal tender." The number of people—not Fiatists, but full believers in intrinsic values—who think that if a thing is not full legal tender it is not money, not a measure of value, and that all values are reduced in exact proportion to the scarcity of legal-tender money, is the most astounding fact in the whole controversy to-day, and the principal source of all the danger there is in it. This is why they claim that half the money is destroyed, all values cut in two and all debts doubled,—because silver is not full legal tender.

I have put to scores the following question: If, then, the legal-tender statute concerning gold were repealed would we have any money? About half answer with a flat No. The rest say it would serve the purposes of money, but would not be money. It is hardly

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fair to call this a sample of western intellect; yet the intellect that says that a thing serving the purposes of money is not money is nevertheless a potent factor in the financial peace of this country.

Not one in ten of the silver men in the Far West knows that the silver dollar is to-day a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. One may assert it a thousand times and they will not notice it or believe it, because all the silver books, papers, and orators say it was made legal tender for only five dollars by the act of 1873. One must go beyond that mere assertion and show how it was reinstated by the act of 1878,—which was not changed in that respect by the Sherman act,—and that the repeal of the Sherman act repealed only its purchasing clause. Of the few who know this the majority say that the exception clause destroys it. They do not know that the Supreme Court of the United States more than thirty years ago decided that contracts for specific money are good.

This great class thinks the country is dying for want of legal tenders to enable debtors to get out of debt; and that these must be "primary money" or "money of ultimate redemption." Any money that is not "primary" is in no sense, it thinks, a basis of value; and all values except debts shrink in exact proportion to the scarcity of legal tender. All this nonsense is mainly due to want of thought. Ask these men when they ever heard any one demand "primary money," or refuse bankable funds, on a debt due and undisputed as to amount, and for the first time they begin to think. Ask when there has been a clamor for primary money since the bill-holders' run on the banks in 1857, and they do more thinking. Ask whether all the silver and the foreign gold taken so greedily by the bill-holders in that great run without a murmur was all "destroyed," not depreciated but "*destroyed*," by the acts of 1853 and 1857. Then ask what was the result when in 1878 a mighty debtor—the Government—offered "primary money" for its outstanding paper. How many wanted it? They will speedily admit that there is a great ado about nothing.

"As long as the United States had its mints open equally to gold and silver the commercial ratio was practically the same as the legal."

Here is financial barley good any day for a thousand-volt snort from the bronco of the West. It is the leading point in the letter of Governor Altgeld to Secretary Carlisle, and it is also the fundamental absurdity in that Bible of the silver saints,—"Coin's Financial School." In that book Harvey says the difference between 14.14 and 16.25 is

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"only about two points." This is readily accepted as a trifle unworthy of consideration, and I have yet to find the silver man who has taken the trouble to discover by the very simple rule of three that "two points" mean about 15 per cent,—when 1 per cent is bad enough.

Harvey excels all other writers in laying down premises without knowing where they lead. On page fifty-three of his book is the key to the whole situation:—

> **"It is impossible to maintain two kinds of redemption money with one made from property having a commercial value of only one half or any noticeable per cent less than the other. When such is the case the lesser must lean on the greater, and to all intents and purposes becomes credit money, while the more valuable becomes the only redemption money."**

He is so sound on the first part of this that no intelligent silver man will dispute it. He is equally sound in insisting on intrinsic values and repudiating all ideas of fiat money. It is an easy matter to make any one admit that the whole of the argument now turns on the meaning of the word "noticeable," or the phrase "practically the same," as Governor Altgeld puts it. If the legal and commercial values of gold and of silver are not "practically the same," there is then no bimetallism. There is no trouble in getting this concession.

But if you scare your bronco with a lot of statistics you can never catch him, nearly as you have him. You may pat him gently with the idea that he still knows the old rule of three, but you will do better by asking if the difference between the ratios of 15 to 1 and 16 to 1, instead of being 1 per cent—as Harvey would apparently have us believe when he uses the word "point"—is not actually $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent; in other words, 1 in $15\frac{1}{2}$, 2 in 31, 4 in 62, and $6\frac{2}{3}$ in 100. By the same process you soon make him see that the difference between the ratios of 16 to 1 and 15.85 to 1 is 1 per cent, as is also the difference between the ratios of 16 to 1 and 16.15 to 1. He is now sufficiently interested to wonder when the percentage of difference between ratios is *noticeable* within Harvey's meaning, and he soon concludes that it becomes so at the point where one coin is worth enough more as bullion than as coin to make a profit by turning it again into bullion. He quickly sees that this keeps the mints working at enormous cost turning out bullion that were better cast into bars at trifling cost, and that the derangement of the circulation *per capita* is so great that bimetallism exists only in name.

Fortunately Harvey tells us about the percentage of difference that will destroy bimetallism. On page ten of his book he says that France took away our silver on a difference of $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. Farther on he

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gives the table of ratios from which one can readily see that, up to the time when England demonetized silver in 1816, there were very few years when there was not a high profit in melting one coin or the other. On the preceding page he gives the difference in percentage for nineteen years preceding 1873, apparently without the slightest idea of *how little is needed to do the mischief.* For about half those years it is enough over 1 per cent to destroy bimetallism. And now all that is left is to find from the daily reports of exchange the point above the par of exchange at which the importer finds it more profitable to ship gold than to buy exchange. That settles the amount for the risk, the handling, and the profit; and it is about three fifths of 1 per cent. Then how much more for silver? Only the additional sum for freight on account of greater bulk and weight, risk being the same. Allow the same as for wheat, and that is less than one sixteenth of 1 per cent. Add to it the three fifths; add two fifths more for error and additional profit; and the 1 per cent difference *in the ratio* becomes very *noticeable* and Harvey's rule applies. On a million of dollars this makes a profit of eight thousand without any risk, the risk being covered by the other two thousand. Now if we back over the tables of ratios for two hundred years given by Harvey we can see how often, according to the above computation, the legal and commercial values of gold and silver were "practically the same."

Harvey insists on intrinsic values and that the difference between the commercial and legal values of the two metals must not be noticeable, otherwise there is no bimetallism to prove the absolute necessity of creating an unlimited demand for silver by free coinage. For he tells us this unlimited demand is the only thing that will hold the two near enough together to keep one coin from being worth so much more for bullion than for coin that it is melted or shipped as fast as it falls from the mint. His illustration of the two reservoirs is wrong. They are made practically full by nature and two taps are drawing on them. If the draught were the same on both it might equalize the legal and commercial values. His tables show when the draught was as nearly equal as it has ever been, before any of the nations demonetized silver; yet there was no bimetallism then except with one coin short in weight so as to destroy the bullion value. Now, with the demand from the leading nations of the world cut off, he proposes that the United States alone shall make draught enough to equalize the two, with the world drawing on the gold tap with all its might, and less than half the world—less than a fourth measured by its business—drawing on the

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silver tap. If this half the world fails to take all the supply, what is left over becomes pig metal and sets the commercial price of silver in spite of fate. But there is no pig gold.

I have talked with hundreds of this fourth class who believe that silver should be made full legal tender; and where they are real bimetallists, *i. e.*, where they want gold kept in circulation, instead of saying "Well, what of it?" as the other three classes do when asked if we will not lose all our gold, they are exceedingly easy to convince. When one of them examines the tables and the principles above given from Harvey, if he is a real hunter for truth and does not get scared like some bear hunters when the tracks grow too fresh, he will at least admit that where melting or shipping one kind of coin will pay a very slight profit over the risk (which is almost nothing), the difernce is "noticeable," as Harvey says, and there is no bimetallism except by destroying the bullion value of one coin by making it short weight. This is what England first discovered, other nations later; the United States followed the lead with the minor silver coins in 1853, the silver dollar being considered as nothing, for none was ever in use more than a day or two. He will then concede that the short-weight coin, if in sufficient volume, will drive out the other unless the Government stands behind it and makes that shortage good; that, if so, the profit should belong to it and not to the owner of the bullion, and that, if it must make it good, it shall have the right to say how much of that business it will have to do,—which means that the coinage must be on Government account and cannot be free or unlimited. Research will then show him that this is the only bimetallism that the world has ever seen, and he will understand why Jefferson suspended the coinage of the silver dollar.

This fourth class is too powerful to laugh at; but the ponderous style of scholarly dissertation will never reach it. The blanker the piece of paper by the roadside, the more the bronco snorts and shies. There is a western style of quieting him, which some may call "flippant" or "lacking in literary dignity"; but simplicity and directness are at the bottom of it. There lies the secret of Harvey's strength. He knew his subject and how to avoid scaring him. For nowhere do the old lines better apply:—

> "Men should be taught as if you taught them not,
> And things unknown proposed as things forgot."

Los Angeles, California. T. S. Van Dyke.

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A FRENCH COLLEGE SIXTY YEARS AGO.

For three months in the year Parisians desert Paris to rejoice elsewhere in the air and the sunshine, but with the month of October they are at home again. A consolation awaits me upon my own return from the country, for I shall find my books once more—my dear and most cherished friends. During a protracted malady of the eyes, when for more than a year I was deprived of their use, I would from time to time take up a book which I could not even see, but which I recognized by the touch, to caress it sadly while I asked if this were to be indeed a final farewell.

My library is unpretentious, containing books which are for use and not for any outward show. They were acquired one by one. I have bound them, taken care of them, and changed their positions many times before determining their final resting-place. To-day, albeit there are close upon 25,000 volumes, I can go with eyes closed and find each one. This little book-case on the right contains one hundred small, well-thumbed volumes—the Tauchnitz collection of Greek classics. They are not faultless. They do not contain a single note, but give the text and no more. The print is rather small, and the paper is quite valueless. But I obtained this Plato, this Aristotle, this Xenophon, and this Plutarch for less than the Plato of Bekker would alone have cost me. For a long time these hundred books constituted my entire library. At that period I knew a little Greek and I relied upon the absence of any notes, translations, or summaries in order to become the more readily familiarized with the language; like a foreigner who, wishing to learn a language of which he is totally ignorant, engages board with natives who do not understand a word of his own idiom. Here, alongside the others, are the Alexandrines. But with Plotinus the learned editions begin. I now became rich enough to make the purchase of books. It was necessary to send abroad for them; for not a single French bookseller possessed a Plotinus or a Proclus. When the house of Didot published one of these rarities the

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number was small and they were bought for public collections from a sense of duty, while private individuals bought none at all. Farther along are the volumes of the "Revue des Deux Mondes." I contribute to the "Revue," exerting myself to remain philosophical; but I become profane. Books of history and of literature make their appearance. A few years more and I shall be overwhelmed with books on jurisprudence and administration law. I even possess some shelves devoted to political economy and religious controversies.

While surveying my books in a certain fashion I review my life, for my library and I developed together. With these, I was a very youthful professor fresh from the École Normale; with those, I had become a professor at the Sorbonne. This pile of political works recalls my first election as deputy, some forty-eight years ago. I had just made my appearance in the Council of State, but I was well informed in pedagogical questions, to which I had applied myself long previous to my appointment as minister. Every now and then I discover with amazement numerous notes secreted among my books; a long-departed science which in other days gave me infinite trouble and of which no other trace is now left me but these yellow leaves that I shall never read again.

I was asked recently concerning the books or teachers whose influence upon my mind has been greatest. At first the question lacked interest for me, since I have trouble enough to support the present without an expenditure of time or strength in philosophizing upon my early life;—and of what import is it to others to learn the sources of the stream, since the stream has not become a river? Reflection shows me, however, that the date of my birth invests the question with peculiar interest.

I was not brought up under the Revolution, but during that uncertain period which was neither the past nor the future. In France, at least, the world was slowly recovering after the fearful convulsions which had destroyed so much. People began to reflect that search must be made amid the ruins in a common endeavor to revive men and things which were considered annihilated, but which experience showed to be indispensable. Napoleon was the first to conceive the grand possibility of an immediate revival of the vital forces of society by the adjustment of them to those changed conditions which the Revolution had produced and which in its turn the Revolution had evaded. The fusion thus effected between the old and the new order was not

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without violence. It required all the force which lay in him and the supremacy of strength lent by the sanguinary memory of the Terror to give a semblance of reality to a mere comedy. His genius saved him: another Jacobin become king would have been nothing better than the king on a stage. The revulsion to the past, a masquerade under Napoleon, came to be a reality under Louis XVIII. The adhesion to new ideas appeared, on the other hand, a masquerade to those who were unable to watch the forces fermenting behind the official world. Ultraists were spoken of at this time as being greater royalists than the king; it might be said, and with equal truth, that the royalists, restored to power after an eclipse of thirty years, were even greater royalists than their fathers had been. The dogma of royalty, as well as that of legitimacy, was more scientifically expounded and more implicitly applied than before the "disorders." As the Republic had not ceased to contend, Bonaparte had at hand a corps of officers which, if insufficient, could easily be recruited.

In the case of the public schools he was less fortunate, for here was a question of reform connected with that of the army; of brave fellows there was a sufficiency, but thoroughly-instructed officers had to be made. When he wrenched the government from the weak hands of the Directory the system of education, hitherto of a twofold character for the young,—*i. e.*, the universities and the religious corporations,—was still disorganized. The fate of the clergy and their congregations is well known. Primarily the civic oath had been forced upon the priests, and the refractory among them were dismissed, exiled, imprisoned, or massacred. Others, who had sworn allegiance to the constitution, suffered a similar fate speedily after. Europe was inundated with French priests reduced to the extremest destitution; in France such as had hitherto escaped death assumed a disguise and lived in daily dread of the guillotine. The universities, as well as the convents, were destroyed, and the majority of their members, who were priests, suffered a common fate with others of their profession. The colleges were without instructors and there would have been no pupils —for the colleges were closed by order and the faculties suppressed by law. Diplomas were forbidden to be given, since no one was to be privileged above another. The schools were closed or converted into hospitals or barracks. The larger number of the libraries were plundered or given over to the municipalities. The books, transferred from the university or the convent to the town hall, were packed in bales and lay there in the garret. I have myself seen similar bales—

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containing perchance rare treasures—which had lain undisturbed since the Reign of Terror.

The Convention, true to its custom, thought to create new schools on the same day it did away with the universities and convents. This reform was effected by its usual procedure, and a great public function was created and placed in the hands of the state. There were no teachers: it was necessary to make them. The teachers, the methods of instruction, the curriculum of study,—all must be improvised. The idea was propounded to create at Paris a high-class institution, where the art of teaching should be imparted, to be called the "École Normale." The instructors were to be men distinguished in letters, sciences, and art. Masters being thus found, it was necessary to procure pupils for them, and this became the task of the administrative departments. A certain number of pupils were sent from each department to the École Normale at Paris to remain six months, when, on returning home, they were to take a secondary normal course in imitation of the education received at Paris, or else were immediately to exercise the function of instructors. The plan appeared both good and simple. But the professors in the big school at Paris were selected because of their notoriety, and not because of special aptitude—a fact which precluded the possibility of harmonious combination. These lettered and learned men might make discoveries, and they knew how to write, but the majority of them could not teach. No special schedule was imposed upon them, but it was understood that pupils, issuing from their instruction, would be completely trained as teachers. Their very genius militated against them, since they were forced to stoop so far beneath their own merit. Again, on the other hand, it transpired that among them were several whose ability was inferior to that of their scholars. Studies were to assume the form of lectures, when the professors might be interrogated and criticised.

The criticism began on the first day, and in several sections was overwhelming. Scholars no longer took the trouble to attend the lectures of incompetent professors, and the professors, commanding neither respect nor attention, either no longer gave their lessons or made but an indifferent preparation. The normal schools, opened in the current of applause, disappeared several months later under a scornful indifference. The departments, stripped of every resource, pressed by the necessities of war, and a prey to the anguish engendered by the action of the Committee of Public Safety, lost their interest in the schools and would vote no more subsidies.

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From the normal schools the First Consul took his idea of an instruction centralized at Paris, but which should be the same all over France. Far, however, from leaving the professors of this unique body their liberty of action, he looked upon the University as a regiment, enforcing its acceptance of a puissant hierarchy, a programme of studies, and a creed. Barely did he permit the schools created through private enterprise to vegetate alongside this powerful body, notwithstanding their submission to his control and the payment of revenue. He accorded his University many privileges, but he found the completion of his plans frustrated through the inadequacy of the staff.

The college at Vannes, where in 1827 I entered as a scholar in the third class, had, as instructor to the sixth class, an ancient deacon who had not assumed the orders of priesthood; he had been here in 1793 and he returned again in 1808. The professors to the third and sixth sections were priests too young to have filled chairs under the *ancien régime*, although the teacher of rhetoric, M. Jéhanno, occupied the same post in 1793. He could barely have been adolescent then; but it was not rare at that period to become a professor of philosophy on the same day one ceased to be a student of philosophy. Jéhanno resumed his post after the interval of a decade, and he continued to occupy it twenty years later during the Revolution of July. He combined the functions both of principal and teacher. He loved me, and I returned his affection. He was more than fifty years old when I knew him. A very small man with a round, pink face, always cheerful, a pedant to the tips of his fingers; a lover of children, who returned his affection, he was at once both venerated and feared by them. He possessed a collection of some twenty anecdotes which it was his habit to repeat with peals of laughter until we came to know them by heart and whose perpetual repetition afforded us supreme satisfaction. He had not taken priestly orders, nor had he married, although marriage would in nowise have altered his manner of living. He wore black woollen stockings drawn over the knees, black silk breeches, a black waistcoat with long skirts which fell about his legs, a cinnamon-colored coat cut *à la française:* such also was his dress in 1793. He wore the same wig, and lived in the same house as he did then; and he probably sallied forth to college at the same hours, carrying the same portfolio and the same copy of Virgil. I regret to be obliged to confess that he would occasionally read to us the more beautiful passages in the "Génie du Christianisme," his sole concession to modern authors. He never advanced beyond Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Vertot; and he considered it

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an indulgence of our youthfulness when he added a few pages of Fénélon.

Our professor of mathematics, well versed in arithmetic and geometry, obtained his licentiate's degree several years after the time when I left college.

In the first story of the college, full of mysterious objects which had been shut up there for twenty years, was a physical cabinet where no one ever entered and where everything was covered with the venerable dust of time. To utilize all these wonders the departmental council desired to procure the services of a professor. An annual stipend of four hundred francs was voted, and M. Jéhanno ran around to all the doctors in the town to propose this fine plan and to offer them this magnificent salary. It was refused by all. In conclusion, the invitation was extended to a justice, noted for the compliancy of his character and the feebleness of his mind. He alleged with hesitation that he knew nothing of physics, but M. Jéhanno replied triumphantly that he could learn it, and the board of education presented him with a copy of the "Elements of Physics," written in the preceding century by the Abbé Nollet. The fact that this amazing professor never had more than five or six auditors in a college where the other classes numbered from eighty to a hundred pupils, demonstrates the good sense of the people of Brittany.

Such being the condition of my college at Vannes when I entered in 1827, it may practically be said that my student years fell toward the middle of the seventeenth century. The character of this college admitted of no change; a century and more ago the methods and curriculum of study were identical. Latin was well taught; beyond Latin we learned nothing at all. Our professors consented indeed to read us portions from obscure historians who were brought to my remembrance at Rome before the inscription: "Here Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf." Of the study of physics and our cabinet I have just given an accurate description. Our professor of philosophy, who was looked upon as a great man and who afterward became a deputy, had in his possession three massive volumes, the "Philosophia Lugdunensis" ("Lyon's Philosophy"), the property of his predecessors and which he in turn was to transmit to his successors. In the first volume were treated the various forms of argumentation: syllogism, dilemma, etc. The second volume treated of metaphysics. I recall this definition of "idea": "I ask you, Monsieur, what is an idea?" And the pupil replies: "An idea is the clear representation of an

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object really present before the mind." The third section of "Lyon's Philosophy" treated presumably of theology, but was in reality a development of the catechism. Our master knew that philosophy had become modified since the writing of his text-books. He had heard of Condillac, who applied the theory of the "idea" by the illustration of the cover of a pot filled with hot water; and of a young man, Cousin by name, who enjoyed a modicum of fame at Paris, and whose misfortune it was to talk much without saying anything. Following this declaration he would read aloud some pages from the "Philosophical Fragments" of which we did not understand a single word and which provoked us to Homeric bursts of laughter; then, inspired with renewed confidence, we would return to the ancient philosophy of our fathers.

This being the condition of the colleges previous to the Revolution it may well be asked whether their suppression was not justifiable, and their reestablishment a mere mockery. It should be remembered, however, that in education the choice of a teacher is of greater importance than the selection of method or programme. The Empire had taken what it could from the surviving members of the ancient faculty of instruction: the Restoration, coming after, had caused the elimination of Voltairism from the ranks, while the monks, preserved by their insignificance and the stupefaction of old age and long suffering, resumed their former vocation only with immense difficulty. The colleges, all-sufficient for the France of the *ancien régime*—and of which that at Vannes was a specimen, perhaps even a caricature—possessed eminent masters who reciprocated the affection of their pupils and won a wide respect by reason of an exemplary life and boundless devotion; men skilled in the ancient tongues and literatures, knowing only the greatness of our century, but knowing it thoroughly. With these qualifications they produced men, and here and there a scholar. At this period there was no question how to provide intellectual pastures for fifty thousand college students, nor for five hundred thousand pupils in the primary schools. For the minority of scholars who presented themselves many teachers were not required.

Unstinted praise has been showered upon Napoleon I as the founder of the University; and it is true that he thereby accomplished an immense service. There were in reality no schools; those established in 1795 were scattered sparsely over the land, empty for the most part, and providing inadequate instruction. The Emperor did all that force could do. He founded numerous colleges and schools, but even he was powerless to establish them everywhere. Nor could he have filled

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them, for teachers were lacking. He reduced the number of pupils by incorporating into the army children who had not attained their growth. He insisted on a select number to fill elevated posts, since he wished to be well attended and was careless whether his soldiers could read or write. He had time to create and organize the University in every respect. His was the conception and his the frame; herein lay his strength. Time would have furnished the new creation both men and children. The Convention before him had conceived a unique system of instruction which, emanating from Paris, should permeate all France and even replace religion. It had, so to speak, cast this idea upon the breeze, but it did not germinate, since there was a lack of vitalization. He dreamt of a university which was to be also a clergy. Of his *grand maître* he made a sort of *chef d'ordre*. To him he gave a spiritual and moral authority over the faculty, armed him with all necessary power to govern, and to suppress, whenever necessary, the private schools existing independently of the state institutions. His admirers wish only to see the creation of a unique University for entire France; they have overlooked the suppression which went hand in hand with the creation. Simultaneously with the determination to establish a university he decided that there should be but one. The Church, chiefly concerned, was not deceived. She comprehended that in the end she would be deprived of her most valued privileges. The expectations of the University were not disguised. Bound to conform outwardly with reverence, so great was the haste to enjoy and use its triumph that it even encroached upon religious instruction; a catechism was prepared which it was hoped to see used exclusively in its schools and finally in the diocesan and parochial establishments. This was a blow directed against the liberty of religious propagandism, against religious freedom itself. It was also directed against liberty of thought; for if religious liberty and liberty of thought are in perpetual strife in our country the fault lies with both. There is but one sort of liberty, *i. e.*, *liberty*, and this liberty suffers beneath the blows dealt alternately by the blind partisans of free thought and religious freedom.

The Emperor understood the rights due to neither the one nor the other; he belonged to the school of Louis XIV, "I am the State." But, without a change of sense, he had changed the form. He said, "Liberty; it is I." Examine the metaphysical significance of his proclamations and declarations and it will be observed that throughout his career he considered that, having been elected by universal suffrage and regarded as the representative of the pleasure of the masses, every

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increase of his dictatorial power was the emanation and accomplishment of the will of the people. It is the greatest sophism of which history preserves the remembrance. But beyond the injustice which, unobserved, the Emperor committed, the omnipotence with which he invested his University constituted the chief cause of its decline. In every case human activity requires competition for a proper development. Contest is a condition of life. Inoculated by its founder, the University for seventy years has suffered from this passion to stand alone; when competition fails, liberty recoils and its force is lessened. Deprived of the spring of activity, it becomes not only benumbed but fossilized; blood and muscle are lost. All things exist in this world by virtue of variety and for union. Variety standing alone is anarchy, and union if alone is atony. Anarchy is better than atony; fever is better than death. In education general liberty is to be preferred to a particular school. The latter would be of a religious nature, which is impossible. It is neither a religion nor a system of philosophy: it is nothing. It is not a religion, since it is a human institution; nor a philosophy, since it is enjoined upon all.

The founder of the University and his undiscerning admirers committed a mistake in recognizing only two forces, *i. e.*, the secular and the clerical. For, primarily, the secular power does not stretch beyond the sciences and literature, a dominion of sufficient extent without the addition of theology; while, in the second place, the clerical power, although strongly united by faith and a common hierarchy, secretes a potent element of variety,—the variety of method. Were I, for example, to regard purely objectively my ancient college at Vannes during eight working days, a knowledge of its origin would not be necessary for me to affirm that it had been founded by the Jesuits. A father, entering his son at an ecclesiastical college, already knows what his religious instruction will be, and is fully cognizant of the profound differences existing between the training of the Jesuits, the Oratorians, the Lazarites, and the Dominicans. Admitting the method of the University to be good (personally I believe it to be so), admitting it to be the best or even (which I am far from believing) the finest possible, I should still regret the fact that it stands alone, since it is able to adapt itself neither to a variety of aptitudes nor requirements. It would come to regard all innovations as a misfortune. The enforced unity of education is synonymous with a proscription of educational progress, or, still more absolutely, with the proscription of all progress. The defenders of unity have not failed to say that formerly in France the

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custom was for people to reside in their proper town or province, whereas now-a-days it has become the custom to travel; that the requirements of life compel the father of a family to change his abode. To provide a material, without a moral, change to the environment of his sons is of immense advantage. He will find at Marseilles a professor of the third class who continues the lessons received from another teacher of the same section at Brest. There will be no difference between the lessons of to-day and those of yesterday. When a student presents himself for his baccalaureate the examiner cannot discern the college to which he belongs. The same method, programme, and doctrine prevail at Paris, Marseilles, and Brest. It is also the same graduate and almost the same man.

Do you perceive in all this a supreme advantage? O Humanity, thou resemblest a pendulum with incessant sway from right to left! Nothing perpetual hast thou except thy perpetual motion, subject ever to the same laws, to end ever with the same result! If, perchance, one of thy members escape from the inflexible law, thou criest out at eccentricity and thou execratest him; or at originality and thou exaltest him! What need to render originality so rare and so perilous, by warring forever against individuality? Individuality is an element of life: unity is the grandeur of it. But have a care, for absolute unity without variety is death!

In the college at Vannes there was no library. Over a door in the first story, alongside the physical cabinet, was inscribed the word "Library." The door of massive wood had felt the ravages of time. Broken away from the hinges, it stood ajar, the closed bolt no longer entering the staple. Here we made search for some volume to speak to us of long centuries past. But the shelves were empty and covered with dust. It was evident that long ago, probably in 1794 at the dispersion of the Jesuits, everything had been carried away. But to what spot had the spoilers taken their booty? It was neither in the town hall nor at the headquarters of the police. The theological works, not unlikely, had been disposed of at auction. Destutt de Tracy made the disdainful observation that humanity would be rendered a service were all the works on theology collected and burnt. "For," said he, "if sold at auction even as worthless paper these good-for-nothing rags might still be read by fools." Our disappointment was severe to find nothing now remaining upon the shelves that had formerly perhaps contained many a treasure.

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We were saturated with the "Philosophia Lugdunensis." At this period there were no newspapers. A curate at the Cathedral, corresponding with the "Society of Good Books," occasionally received some edifying and some stupid volumes; none the less was it a sincere delight to me when I could procure some of them. These works were not of the highest order of merit, but still they were books. I had indeed my "Euchologion" wherein, beside the fine things, were numerous banalities; but I knew them all by heart. At this period I was the "king" of the college at Vannes, and I know not whether it was a matter for felicitation or for regret. In my heart I believe it would have been better for me simply to have been the first in my class; the situation was rendered absurd. Not for a moment did I regard these exaggerations seriously; but when two years later I entered the École Normale the difference between the superiority attributed to me and the humble position to which I had descended was sufficient utterly to discourage me, and nearly a year went by before I could recover from the shock.

At Vannes I passed from triumph to triumph. I was not allowed to compete for the prizes in philosophy; I was given a prize of honor superior to all the rest. But in the midst of these honors my life was one of difficulties. My family, completely ruined while I at the age of fourteen years was still at the high school at Lorient, and unable to defray the expenses of my education, had resolved to apprentice me to a watchmaker. Notwithstanding, an effort was made which enabled me to enter at Vannes, whither I went on foot, and where I passed through the third class as a boarder at reduced rates in a little seminary maintained by a Lazarite, Father Daudet. At the end of three months, when about to enter the second class, my father declared he could do no more, his last resource being exhausted. But in this excellent school there existed, among other relics of the past, a custom which saved me. The praiseworthy pupils of rhetoric in the second class gave lessons to their comrades in the fifth and sixth classes, at a most absurd charge it is true, but which none the less helped them to earn their daily bread. I told my story to the principal, requesting him to find me pupils. I was not fifteen years old, but I was the glory of the college. The principal, desirous to see me remain, with the greatest difficulty procured me six pupils whom I united in a small class. I devoted to them an hour in the morning and again an hour in the evening, receiving in payment from each boy the sum of three francs a month. The manager of the Shallette accepted me as a

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boarder at eighteen francs a month. The college passed a resolution exempting me from payment for lessons: the board of education presented me with two hundred francs. In this way I was enabled to finish the two years' course of study.

Carrying a small lantern in my hand, I might be seen every morning at six o'clock passing down the Rue de Chanoines, dressed in an ordinary calico jacket under which I wore a woollen waistcoat. I may say that I was adopted by the entire town and that every one showed me the greatest kindness.

I once saw one of my old pupils again. His name was Du Pontavice. He died, as have most of my pupils, before me. At the time we met he was superintendent of schools at Blois, and I was then minister. The prefect presented the superintendent who, in tears, asked me if I had forgotten him. I embraced him very heartily; and in that instant I seemed to review my whole life which I thought then already finished, whereas in fact it had only begun.

JULES SIMON.

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THE NEXT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.

OF the rapid developments in education which have taken place in the United States during the last twenty-five years, quite the most important has been the rise of universities. This movement has had two points of departure: on the one hand, a number of older institutions, much alike in their general conformity to a common, though not wholly definite, standard, have built upon the historic college a more or less extended superstructure of postgraduate departments and professional schools; while, on the other hand, large gifts of money have brought into existence several new institutions, in many respects better equipped even at the start than their older rivals. These new-comers, to be sure, have not always been heartily welcomed. From time to time there has been heard from one or another of the older universities a murmur of jealousy, protesting that it would have been better to strengthen existing endowments than to create new ones; but each of the new foundations has easily demonstrated its right to existence, and others have followed. There seems to be no sufficient reason for supposing that the founding of new universities in this country has ceased, or that all public-spirited individuals will henceforth be content merely to add somewhat to the effectiveness of institutions already established. The same causes which have produced the new universities of recent years —great and rapid accumulation of wealth, the philanthropic spirit, and the desire to perpetuate a name in worthy form—still operate, and make it entirely probable that the list which includes the Johns Hopkins, Clark, Leland Stanford, and Chicago universities will before many years be again added to.

This rapid development of universities, however, has given rise to not a few difficult and perplexing questions, to some of which no definite or well-accepted answers have yet been given. It can hardly be said that educational thought in the United States has yet evolved a clear and consistent theory of a university. The university occupies its present position partly by accident, partly as the result of conditions, either in its past or in its immediate environment, over which it has had but imperfect control, and partly because of certain ideas impressed

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upon it by a few men who from time to time have been charged with its administration, rather than because there was a well-recognized place which it was, by a sort of general consent, expected to fill. In most matters of administrative organization, in the arrangement of courses of study, in the requirements for admission and for degrees, and in its relations with other similar institutions, each university is, to all intents and purposes, a law unto itself; and where practice does happen to coincide, it is more often from force of circumstances than as a result of deliberate agreement. Since the practice of each new institution serves to mark with somewhat of clearness the progress that has been made in the conception of the functions of a university, and to call attention also to the directions in which yet further advance, with possibly change of front, may be desirable, it will be interesting to examine three or four of the problems which the founders and directors of the next American university will be called upon to consider.

First of all be it said that the next American university ought to be a place of perfect intellectual freedom. In the long struggle against authority and tradition, against dogma and creed, the present century has witnessed some tremendous gains; but to suppose that there is no longer any trace of opposition to be guarded against would be a serious mistake. Perfect liberty of thought and inquiry have had to contend against the church, against the state, and against the individual whose position of authority carried with it no responsibility to any one except himself; and while these various enemies are happily much less in evidence than formerly, they have not yet been completely vanquished. In saying that a university should be entirely free from either direct or indirect sectarian control, it is quite unnecessary, as it certainly is not the intention, to disparage either religion or theology, or to ignore the indispensable and far-reaching usefulness of the church in stimulating and directing social life. But there is need to insist, even to strenuousness, that whatever the wealth of its material equipment—whether endowment, or buildings, or laboratories, or libraries—a university can give no sufficient reason for its existence unless the unfettered and unbiassed pursuit of truth is its chiefest and most constant care.

Notwithstanding all the progress that has been made in the direction of religious liberty and tolerance—a progress at no time more rapid than during the present generation—it may still be doubted whether "a first-rate love of truth in its simplicity" is even yet the pervading and dominant characteristic of most religious denomina-

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tions. For the habit of mind, if one may so call it, of a sect is prone to be rather the opposite of the habit of mind of a scholar. The one almost inevitably approaches the world with certain restraining predispositions and assumptions, even if not with dogmas to be bolstered up and defended; the other comes with open mind, desirous of nothing so sincerely as that he may apprehend all the truth revealed by his investigations. Loyal members of a religious body, it has been said, are under a certain moral obligation to think "within limits"; yet it needs no argument to show that thinking "within limits" is a step in the direction of not thinking at all. A university actually dominated and controlled by a denomination would be expected to conform its methods and teachings to the general consensus of opinion, so far as that could be ascertained, in that denomination; if greater latitude be permitted, denominational control is to that extent relaxed. That, under existing conditions, such limitations would admit of scholarly work, of great or permanent value, in any department in which the church had declared its belief, is at least improbable. As a matter of fact, no religious denomination, acting *as a denomination*, has ever built up a great university in this country, though more than one denomination has sought to appropriate to itself the credit for a noble edifice in whose erection and enrichment it has had an almost infinitely small share. Perfect freedom of thought in matters of fact, and genuine submission to authority in matters of faith, are for most men inherently incompatible; and the intellectual life of a university must not be thus bound.

Scarcely less to be deplored would be political interference with the intellectual freedom of a university. The idea of a national university seems to have for many people a strong attraction, if one may judge by the persistency with which the scheme is kept before the public; and in some aspects there is something to be said for it. Undoubtedly a university supported by the National Government might easily excel all its competitors in its material resources and equipment, and might centralize and render more effective the scientific work now performed in a rather desultory fashion by various Government departments. But there seems exceedingly little justification for thinking that the Congress of the United States, under whose control a national university would be, has of late years shown such high appreciation of the nature and obligations of the intellectual life as to give assurance that it would administer wisely and impartially so great a trust. In the departments of history, law, economics, ethics, and theology, not to mention others,

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there could scarcely be in a national university either freedom of thought or candid expression of opinion; and without such no university is worthy of the name. So long as large and influential portions of educated America look upon Congress as a sort of Nazareth out of which no good thing can come, it is impossible to feel any confidence that Congress would deal more efficiently with so difficult a matter as a national university than it does with the more practical matters of ordinary business concern. It certainly could not be expected to view with approval or even with indifference public expressions of opinion greatly at variance with the views of the party in power.

Of the open or concealed limitation of the intellectual freedom of universities by founders or benefactors we have happily had but few instances. There have been occasional disquieting rumors, but little real mischief. The same wisdom which has prompted the gifts of money, lands, or apparatus has usually also seen the propriety of sedulously refraining from all such pernicious interference.

First of all, then, there must be this assurance of entire intellectual liberty. How completely that has been attained will be shown in considerable measure by the way in which the next American university deals with a second important matter,—that of the admission of all qualified applicants irrespective of sex. It is no longer necessary to argue in favor of the higher education of women: its sound wisdom has been abundantly demonstrated by its results, and woman's right to learning may now be assumed as a matter of course. With some of the questions connected with the collegiate education of women—such as the effect of college training upon the family, the home, the wage-earning power, and the extension of the suffrage—the university is but indirectly concerned. Its students must be assumed to have very largely settled for themselves their intended spheres of social activity, and to have come to the university because by extended training and pronounced inclination they are fitted to take advantage of its facilities. With a body of students thus constituted, it does not seem possible that university education can logically make any distinction of sex. Whether in the long run it will appear that women are the equals of men in ability to acquire knowledge, in power of long and persistent application, and in capacity for constructive scholarship, is an interesting subject for speculation and prediction, but it is not a question to which the university must needs give answer.

There is, however, some reason for hoping that the American uni-

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versity, by its voluntary and logical adherence to coeducation, will work for a more rational adjustment of sex relations in all departments of education, thereby contributing quite as effectively to the further "emancipation" of women as if its proceedings were many degrees more demonstrative. A university must take it for granted that its students have reached years of discretion, that they are not ignorant of elementary distinctions between right and wrong, and that they are in the habit of conforming to the generally accepted principles of morality and social propriety. It cannot undertake to regard women as weaker creatures, in need of special protection, or oversight, or consideration. The law of intellectual attainment is no respecter of persons: "one event happeneth to them all." Nor will the university show its distrust of the intelligence, morality, and dignity of educated women by prescribing the places in which they shall live, or the days and hours upon which they may receive their friends, or the times and seasons at which they shall go and come. This sort of anxious maternalism may be eminently fitting in the preparatory schools, and possibly in some colleges; but it is wholly out of place in a university. The coming American university will be coeducational because the advance of civilization has now put even the separate collegiate education of the sexes on the defensive; there remains the duty of admitting women in the university to the same privileges, and holding them to the same responsibilities, as is the case with men, and to none others.

For the university thus to offer instruction to men and women upon the same terms would only be to recognize one of the most obvious educational tendencies of the time: to limit its courses of study to graduate and professional students would be to take an advance step of the utmost significance. At the present time, all the leading universities in the United States, with a single exception, have their undergraduate departments, which commonly not only enrol the largest number and percentage of students, but also absorb the largest share of the income. That the combination of undergraduate, graduate, and professional work in one and the same institution has been in most cases historically necessary will readily be conceded, and it is not easy to see how in many instances the condition could even now be changed; at the same time, the maintenance of the undergraduate department in its present position of importance is to be defended rather upon grounds of temporary expediency than because of its perfect consonance with a sound theory of a university. No institution,

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of course, can afford to break suddenly with its past; nor should it be forgotten that graduate instruction in its turn has often had to contend against strong opposition from faculties and governing boards. With a new university, however, the circumstances are more favorable; it has no past, but is free to take whatever form it will. It is very greatly to be desired that there should be built up in this country a great university, in all respects amply furnished, and devoted exclusively to graduate and professional training; for such is the proper sphere of the university. It ought not to be merely a greater college, either in number of students or in variety of courses of study; it ought rather to be a place of wider and deeper learning, for the pursuit of which the college is the indispensable preparation.

It seems probable, however, that such limitation of the sphere of the university could hardly fail to work a corresponding restriction of the sphere of the college. In particular, it would operate to discourage every kind of postgraduate work under college auspices. If it is illogical for a university to give undergraduate instruction, the attempt of a college to engage in graduate instruction is not easier to defend. In this matter of postgraduate work a large number of colleges attempt to compete with the universities by offering courses of study leading to the degree of Master of Arts. Formerly this much-abused degree was regularly conferred by the older colleges upon such of their graduates as had survived the undergraduate course a specified number of years, though sometimes with the added condition that the recipient should have been engaged during the interval in something that could be construed to be a "literary" pursuit. When, one after another, the better class of colleges ceased to bestow this honorary degree as a reward for existence, there grew up instead the custom of giving the degree to such graduates as should pursue for one or more years a course of so-called "advanced" work. When residence is not required, this "advanced" study very often amounts to nothing more than general reading under the irregular and perfunctory guidance of an already overworked instructor, and is almost wholly destitute of educational value. In the interest of sound learning and educational sincerity it is every way to be wished that this whole system of pseudo-graduate work under college sanction might speedily be swept away, and that the higher degrees might be conferred exclusively by the universities, which are alone capable of doing in a satisfactory manner the higher work.

The gain to higher education, could such a result be attained,

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would be of the greatest value; on the other hand, it would only clear the way for the consideration of a still more serious problem, in some ways the most delicate and complex with which the university is now called upon to deal. That is the problem of estimating justly the value of college work as a preparation for admission to the university. The several hundred institutions in the United States that confer the degree of Bachelor of Arts present the greatest variety in standard, equipment, and attainment. In their requirements for admission, in the order of studies, in methods of instruction, and in the severity of examinations, as well as in their material facilities for doing what they profess to do, the colleges in this country differ quite beyond the possibility of adequate classification; but they all give the same degree. It is apparent that no university proposing to itself thorough instruction of a high order could afford to take the graduates of all these colleges at an equal rating; yet the problem of grading the institutions themselves is far from an easy one. Some of the leading universities adopt the policy of dealing with the case of each applicant on its merits, finding it necessary for their own protection to inquire into the grounds on which the bachelor's degree has been obtained; and this method, though involving great labor on the part of the university faculty, has brought some satisfactory results. As a final solution of the question, however, it is open to the objection of securing no uniformity of standard among the universities themselves, though aiming expressly to secure it among the colleges, and of exercising upon the colleges no very direct pressure; while on the other hand it opens the way for annoying charges of unfairness and favoritism, and offers to a small university a subtle temptation to lower its standard of admission.

Nevertheless, until some more systematic ordering of college work can be brought about, the work of universities must be carried on under rather marked disadvantages. The connection between the colleges and the national Bureau of Education seems too slight to warrant us in expecting, as has lately been suggested, much direct aid from that source; nor are the colleges on their own initiative likely either to improve their methods or to readjust their standards. Some sort of pressure from without needs to be brought to bear, and that pressure must come from the universities. It cannot be too often repeated that effective impulse to educational advancement comes always from the higher, never from the lower, institutions. It is the colleges that have urged on the preparatory schools; it is the universities that must be relied upon to bring about essential uniformity among the colleges.

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Of course, there will be no end of objection and hostile criticism while the process is going on: a good many bubbles will be pricked, a good many pious frauds exposed, a good many fictitious values dissipated. But the outcome will be to make clear beyond peradventure that the seat of authority in education is with the university; for in education, as in other matters, the less is judged by the greater.

Finally, it will fall to the lot of the next American university to consider what the spirit of the university shall be. The zeal of American scholarship has already brought rich returns. Our university men are immensely industrious and immensely learned; they handle well the material forces of scholarship, and their standards of efficiency and attainment are high. The scientific method and the scientific spirit have become the common possession of students in all departments of knowledge, while the results of investigation in every field are wielded with an accuracy and a precision never before equalled. But it can hardly be denied that American university life has in the meantime lost somewhat in interest. The prodigious gains in knowledge and in intense love of acquisition have not been accompanied by equal gains in richness of spirit. University men to-day live in the midst of fierce and relentless competition. They work under ceaseless pressure. Their primary aim in life is to be learned, to accumulate a vast store of facts, to know all that there is to be known of some one matter. It is a very noble aim, worthy of all commendation and encouragement; but it is not the whole of life. In none of our great universities is the prevailing tone spontaneous, hearty, free. Scarce any young scholar whose reputation is in the making dare in these days "let himself go." The same scientific spirit, with its ardor for "research," which not many years since pointed the way to truth for all who would look upon it, has come to exercise over the intellectual life a sort of terrorism which has been not unfitly likened to that which in former days was exercised by religious "orthodoxy"; and under this tyranny of "science" the life of scholarship has very largely lost the quality of charm. It is not the men of the universities who in our time nourish the life of the spirit.

That such a condition should have come about is, indeed, to be regretted rather than wholly blamed; for it is the not entirely unnatural result of intense reaction against tradition, formalism, and unreality. But it cannot be out of place to insist that a university should stand for culture as well as for learning, for charm of manner as well as for accuracy of statement, for wealth of spirit as well as for

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mastery of facts. Just at these points it is that our universities are now most deficient: their habit of thought tends to be feverish, critical, and small, rather than large, easy, and free. And the next American university must be prepared to meet this question with the rest. In all that is now commonly thought essential to success a new institution might from the first easily outstrip all its competitors; but to give to a dominant temper of its time a new bent is more difficult. Yet it may very well happen that upon its success in so doing will depend the ultimate position and influence of the new venture,—whether it shall be but one among many, a scrambler for students, money, and fame like them, or whether it shall open anew the way to richness of life, and to the ripeness of culture without which learning is only a deadening load.

Such are some of the standards by which it seems probable that the next American university must needs measure itself. Measure itself by them it will, in some sort, from the first; but upon its final conformity will depend something of the value of its work as an institution, and its distinctive contribution to our educational development.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF THE BICYCLE.

It is quite the custom to speak of bicycling as a "craze," and there has been much speculation as to whether it would prove permanent or would pass away like other "crazes" after a brief period of feverish popularity. It has been compared to the passion of a few years ago for roller-skating, and prophets have not been lacking who were confident that within five years it would run its course, leaving behind it the wrecks of innumerable bicycle factories and tons upon tons of unsalable machines. "Only wait," say these prophets, "and five years from now you can buy all the wheels you want, and of the best makes too, for five dollars; you may even get one with a pound of tea, or have it thrown in like a colored picture with a copy of a Sunday newspaper." The error in calculations of this kind lies in treating the matter as a "craze." It is something very different from that. The simple fact is that the human race has discovered a new power for its own use. From the earliest dawn of civilization man has been experimenting with the wheel which he invented to increase his powers of locomotion. He has pressed into this service the horse and various other animals, steam, electricity, and compressed air. Finally he has hit upon a device which makes his own body the source of power. He has placed wheels upon his feet, and as a result finds his powers of locomotion multiplied by five and even ten. Instead of walking five or ten miles with more or less effort and fatigue, he finds himself travelling ten, twenty, fifty, and even a hundred miles, according to his physical vigor and experience, with little perceptible fatigue and with a most delightful sense of animation. The winged sandals of Mercury are his henceforward. We have become a race of Mercurys, in fact, and the joy which is felt over the new power amounts to a passion.

Nobody realizes the force of this passion till he rides a wheel himself. Until he has felt the exhilarating effects of the exercise he is strongly of the opinion that its devotees are really a little crazy. He laughs first and then becomes very weary when they persist in telling him, each as if it were a new discovery, that "it is the next thing to

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flying," and he is convinced, when he listens while they "swap stories" about the distances covered in incredibly short spaces of time, that it develops a practice which comes much nearer than the next thing to lying. But when he has learned to ride himself he sees what was the matter with them, for like them he has discovered the new power. He finds himself enjoying the beneficial results of vigorous exercise without the usual accompanying weariness, and in a condition of physical exaltation that he has rarely if ever known before. As his muscles get hardened, and he gains in exact knowledge of his vehicle and its powers, he finds that it becomes really a part of himself.

There has been much talk about the "bicycle face" and its causes, and the most common explanation has been that it is due to the rider's anxiety about maintaining his equilibrium. This explanation must have originated among persons who do not ride, for there is nothing which the novice acquires more readily than the ability to preserve his equilibrium. That soon becomes second nature to him. After he has ridden a short time he thinks no more about keeping his wheel upright than he thinks about keeping his body upright in walking. But what troubles him for a much longer period is the rate of speed at which he is moving. This is four or five times his usual walking gait, and he does not feel at ease till he becomes so thoroughly accustomed to it that he knows exactly at all times just what use he can make of his wheel in any given situation. This is the new power which has been attached to his feet, and anxiety lest it may get him into trouble gives him the "bicycle face," which remains with him until his wheel becomes part of himself and he moves about on it as automatically as he moves upon his feet. He has then become master of his new power,—the most valuable he has acquired since he learned to walk,—and it is henceforth a part of his equipment for his struggle with life.

Is it probable that having once become the possessor of a power like this the human race is going to abandon it? As well might we expect it to abandon railways, and gas, and electricity! It is because the bicycle has added so greatly to human powers that it is the most revolutionary social and economic force of recent times. It has entered into and changed the course of human affairs to a wider extent than any other influence. It is customary to treat it primarily as a means of pleasure and exercise, but in every community it is becoming more and more an article of daily use and necessity. Nothing is more certain than that its use will steadily increase. Competition and greater skill in manufacturing will inevitably force down the price.

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Within a few years bicycles will be staple articles of commerce, sold as are carriages and other vehicles, the price being regulated by the grade of workmanship and finish, and they will be obtainable at prices which will bring them within reach of a hundred persons where now they are within the reach of one; and the time is not far distant when for all healthy persons the bicycle will become the universal method of locomotion. Special provisions for bicycles will have to be made in all our cities, as in fact they are being made now in many, and it is not at all improbable that within a few years we may see a large proportion of the persons engaged in business and professional life travelling to and fro between their houses and offices upon bicycles. Already there is serious talk in New York city of an elevated roadway for bicycles, and in all localities the demand for the improvement of roadways in order to better accommodate them is growing steadily in volume and force.

We must, therefore, look upon the bicycle as a permanent factor, and upon its sociological and economic effects not as temporary disturbances but as the manifestations of a new order of things. These effects are remarkable enough to justify the frequent assertion that as a sociological revolutionary force the bicycle is without an equal. It is the first force of the kind which has damaged simultaneously the church and the theatre. Both are complaining of its inroads upon their domain and are seeking ways by which to counteract them. The churches suffer most severely in the smaller cities and towns and villages. Attendance upon religious service in these places has been helped by the fact that there was little else to do on Sunday, and also by the fact that the church was really the social centre of the community. Now comes the bicycle with a proposal for a social ride into the country on Sunday, for a day spent in the open air, in rolling swiftly over smooth roadways, or through shady lanes, and past green and flowering meadows. It is not in human nature, and especially in young human nature, to resist a call like this. The departure once made is usually for all time. The churches are fast losing their young people, and efforts to call them back by appeals to their sense of Christian duty, and by offering them storage room for their bicycles in the basement in case they will ride upon them to the House of God rather than into open communion with nature, are likely to prove unavailing. They are deaf even to such appeals as that of the New Haven clergyman who drew a terrifying picture of long columns of Sunday bicycle riders rolling swiftly and helplessly—without brakes,

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of course—down a glittering hill to a "place where there is no mud on the streets because of its high temperature." The theatrical plaint is that the bicycle seriously injures the playhouse in winter, and ruins it outright in summer. In the cities during the evenings of autumn and winter, when the weather is not severe, the young people take rides upon their wheels rather than go to a theatre. When spring comes they ride on every matinee day and on every evening, leaving the theatre a desert. "We used to go to Baltimore, Washington, and Boston every summer and do a good business," says a New York manager, "but it's no use now. The theatrical season is dead everywhere as soon as the roads get good for bicycle-riding. It's the same way in California. I tell you it's the bicycle that is ruining the theatrical business." One curious effect, which should afford some consolation to Sabbatarians, is that theatres in certain cities which were formerly open on Sundays have been closed permanently.

New social laws have been enacted to meet the requirements of the new order. Parents who will not allow their daughters to accompany young men to the theatre without chaperonage allow them to go bicycle-riding alone with young men. This is considered perfectly proper. It seems to be one phase of the good comradeship which is so strong a feature of the pastime, for there is no leveller like the wheel. Every rider feels at liberty to accost or converse with every other rider, not only bound but willing to give him aid in distress or accident, and in various ways to treat the bicycle as the badge of equality among all its possessors. Yet every man who has ridden much, either on Sundays, holidays, or other days, must have been struck with the uniformly quiet, orderly, and decorous conduct of the great army of wheelmen. They are seldom boisterous, and the rowdies are the great exceptions. Of no other form of popular exercise, or excursion, can it be said that it is so conducive to good manners, simple conduct, and kindly intercourse as bicycle-riding. It brings all classes together when all are in a condition of healthy enjoyment and physical content. The artisan, the millionaire, the professional man, the laborer, the rich merchant, the lady whose name appears in all the "society movements" of the day, the shop-girl, the banker and his clerk,—all roll along on equal terms, for a wheel of some kind is within every one's reach and in outward appearance only the eye of an expert can detect any financial superiority of one over another. Certainly each feels fully the equal of every other, and the natural and inevitable effect is to incline each to so conduct himself as to

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be worthy of the company he is in. Then, too, one great influence for sobriety and decorum is to be found in the family participation of the pastime. Fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, husbands and wives, whole families ride together, carrying with them wherever they go the spirit of the family circle. No other single social result of bicycling is comparable to this. Fathers are made the companions of their sons as they seldom or never were before, and the beneficial influence upon the character and habits of the latter, exerted, as it often is, at the formative period of the boys' lives, cannot be overestimated. Like tennis and golf, the bicycle supplies a form of popular exercise which is open to the members of both sexes equally. Husband and wife are able to enjoy this together, and the result is a new bond of union which brings back, after years of married life, the close companionship of its earlier days. The whole family is in fact made one as it perhaps never was before, the parents renewing their youth and joining with their children in a common pleasure which is also a well-spring of health to all of them.

Concerning the healthfulness of the exercise there is no longer serious question. A great deal of sensational rubbish, much of it characteristically vile, has been put forth in the recent past by quacks upon this subject, but little of it is heard now. Indulged in with intelligence and moderation, with due regard to the physical condition of each participant, bicycle-riding is unquestionably one of the most healthful forms of physical exercise ever invented. As an eminent medical authority has put it, "not in two hundred years has there been any one thing that has so benefited the human race." This is the judgment of all authorities who have studied the subject carefully with reference to its general effects, and not with reference to isolated and exceptional cases. Physicians are recommending it more and more to their patients, almost without regard to the limit of age, and are coming to the conclusion that it is practically a sovereign remedy for rheumatism, indigestion, dyspepsia, and other ills which are too frequently merely the result of a lifetime of little or no outdoor exercise. It is no answer to this view of the bicycle, as the missionary of a healthier and stronger human race, to say that excessive use of it does harm. Undoubtedly such use of it is harmful. Riding to "make a century," to cover a large number of miles, riding humpbacked with all the vital organs cramped and with the muscles of the body in an unnatural position,—these are the abuses of a healthy exercise, and are no legitimate part of it. They are diminishing rather than increasing. The

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"scorcher" is much less common this year than he was last. Even he is finding out that the gentleman rides upright like a man, not bent like a monkey, and he is desirous of being classed with gentlemen. The great merit of bicycling is that it gets people out into the open air and sunshine for their exercise. It sets their hearts and lungs to working as they have never really worked before and under conditions that are the most favorable possible for their development and increased strength. When a bicyclist starts for a ride he seeks, as the most favorable field, the parks of a city or the open country. Never before in the history of man have the public parks of cities been so truly the breathing places of the people as they are now. A hundred persons use them where one did before the advent of the bicycle. It is said in many of our smaller cities that on half-holidays and other occasions upon which it is customary to have music in the public parks, there is now an attendance of hundreds of bicycle-riders, making crowds where formerly only a few people gathered. The roads in all suburban towns throng with the same visitors on Sundays and holidays, all rolling through enjoyment to better health, and unconsciously but surely bringing city and country into closer union and extending more widely the blessings of advancing civilization.

The economic effects of this new force in human affairs afford much material for curious and even amusing study. It is estimated that since the passion got under full headway, less than five years ago, fully $100,000,000 have been spent in purchasing bicycles in this country alone. The output for this year is estimated at from 750,000 to 1,000,000 machines, at an average price of $80 each. Of course a new branch of business of such dimensions as this must disturb more or less other kinds of business. A million people cannot buy bicycles at $80 each and buy as many other things as they would otherwise have bought. Naturally the dealers in luxuries are the first to feel the effects. The loudest outcries come from the makers of watches and jewelry. Many of them have abandoned the business entirely and substituted for it bicycle-making. They say that formerly when a son came of age, or Christmas Day came around, a favorite family present was a watch; now it is a bicycle. The girls used to save their pin-money with which to buy ear-rings, or a breast-pin, or a locket; now they hoard it for a bicycle. Not only must the sons and daughters have them, but the parents as well, so that all the family savings go in one direction. The daughter who has been ambitious for a piano concludes that she will not wait longer but will get a bicycle instead, since it costs less.

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The consequence is that the piano trade for the current year is said to have fallen off 50 per cent. Furniture dealers cite cases in which they have heard mothers say to their daughters that they could have their choice between new sets of parlor furniture and bicycles, and the choice has invariably been bicycles. Probably the worst sufferers of all are the horse and carriage trades, and the businesses connected with them. The practice of horseback-riding is nearly extinct and saddle-horses are a drug in the market. The livery-stable business has been cut down from a half to two thirds, and carriages are in such poor demand that several leading firms have gone to the wall. The saddle- and harness-makers are also complaining loudly and are turning their attention to the making of bicycle-saddles. Riding-academies have been turned into bicycle schools, and riding-masters have been forced to begin life over again in other occupations.

These are the direct effects of the bicycle passion. The indirect results are no less striking. It is stated by the journals of the tobacco trade that the consumption of cigars has fallen off during the present year at the rate of a million a day, and that the grand total of decrease since the "craze" really got underway is no less than 700,000,000. This may be an exaggerated statement; it has been questioned in some quarters of the trade; but there is no doubt that riding does interfere with the smoking habit and thus induces confirmed smokers to reduce their daily consumption. The tailors say their business has been damaged at least 25 per cent, because their customers do not wear out clothes so rapidly as formerly, spending much of their time in cheap bicycle suits which they buy ready-made. Shoemakers say they suffer severely because nobody walks much any longer, since persons who formerly got their exercise in that way have taken to the wheel, upon which they ride in low-priced shoes which are subject to very little wear.

The hatters say they are injured because bicyclists wear cheap caps and thus either save their more expensive ones or else get on without them. One irate member of the trade proposes that Congress be asked to pass a law compelling each bicycle-rider to purchase at least two felt hats a year. Railway and steamboat men say their excursion business has been diminished perceptibly by the tendency to go into the country and to the seashore on the bicycle rather than by rail or water. Trolley and other street-car lines from cities to their suburbs say their receipts have been cut down so heavily as to amount in some instances to the destruction of all profit. Dealers in dry-goods

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say that the passion of young women for the wheel has reduced their sales of dress-goods and expensive costumes from 25 to 50 per cent, because so many girls prefer a ride in a bicycle costume in the evening to sitting at home in more elaborate apparel. Even the summer girl cuts down her outfit, for she finds she spends much of her time in bicycle garb.

Then come the booksellers with a complaint that much riding prevents much reading, and that their trade suffers in consequence. One great news-agency in New York city, which deals in books and periodicals of all kinds, says its total loss in trade this year from bicycle competition is no less than a million dollars. Saloon-keepers say that they suffer with the others, that their saloons are deserted on pleasant evenings, and that riders who visit them take only beer and "soft-drinks." There is undoubted truth in this complaint, for while the "bicycle thirst" is a formidable thing, it does not call for strong drink for its quenching, and habitual riders avoid all but the simplest and least "heady" beverages, not only because riding requires a steady head, but because the whole system is so exhilarated by exercise that it does not crave further stimulant. There are many other complaints of injury to trade which might be enumerated, but I must content myself with the mention of only one other which is, perhaps, the most moving of all. It was made by a barber in New York city. "There is nothing in my business any longer," he said, "the bicycle has ruined it. Before the bicycle craze struck us the men used to come in on Saturday afternoons and get a shave, and a haircut, and maybe a shampoo, in order to take their lady friends to the theatre, or go out somewhere else in the evening. Now they go off on a bicycle and do not care whether they are shaved or not. You see where it hurts our business is that when a man skips a shave to-day, we can't sell him two shaves to-morrow; that shave is gone forever."

While there are many just complaints of losses through the formidable advent of this new social and economic force, there is undoubtedly much exaggeration in some of the complaints and little or no foundation for others. We have been passing through a long period of "hard times" and every sufferer who is looking for a cause turns eagerly to the bicycle when he hears some other sufferer mention it. Much of the damage in certain lines of business is only temporary. As soon as the people get stocked with bicycles, and changes and improvements are not so important as to lead to the purchase of new ones year by year, money will begin to flow back again into some of its former channels.

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People are not going to get on permanently without watches or pianos simply because they ride upon bicycles. At present they are willing to put the possession of a bicycle above everything else. A few months ago, there was an advertisement in the elevated trains of New York city which attracted attention by the delightful unexpectedness of its proposition. It read: "You do not use your piano often. Why not exchange it for a folding bed?" This advertisement was recalled to my mind recently by the sight of the following in a Buffalo newspaper: "Will exchange folding-bed, child's white crib, or writing-desk for lady's bicycle." An enemy of the wheel has cited this as certain proof of the existence of a bicycle "craze" since it discloses a "mother who appears willing to sleep on the floor or hang her baby on a hook in order to be in the charmed circle of cyclers." This is a forced interpretation. The mother might have had other sleeping accommodations both for herself and baby. What strikes me as more convincing proof of a "craze" was the action of a Plumbers' Union in Indianapolis, in adopting strong resolutions condemning the use of bicycles by plumbers on the ground that by so doing they were able to get through their "jobs" more quickly. Nothing but a "craze" would induce a plumber to ride to and fro between the shop and his "jobs" on a wheel. As everybody knows, the chief part of a plumber's business is sitting idle on the site of a "job" while his helper goes back to the shop for something. If there is to be a bicycle for the helper to ride on, then a staggering blow has been struck at the plumbing business, and the plumber who is so blind as not to see this must be the victim of a "craze." The union is quite justified in raising a cry of alarm.

But there are gains as well as losses. Capital has merely shifted its field of operation. If many lines of established business and industry have been injured, new lines have been opened which have given employment to an increased number of persons. Within five years the number of bicycle manufactories in this country has risen from one or two to several hundred. These give steady and well-paid employment to thousands of persons. Scattered over the country from New England to California are manufacturing towns which have sprung into new life and prosperity, after years of slow decay, through the advent of this young industry. Then, too, an enormous business in the making of bicycle sundries has grown up which does not require special talent or training and in which "plants" for other kinds of business and manufacturing can be used. It is a fact also that suburban real

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estate has advanced perceptibly under the influence of the bicycle passion. There is a larger demand for country homes from families who wish to live where the children, as well as the parents, can ride with greater pleasure and freedom and with less risk of accident than in the cities. This is one of the most beneficial effects of the bicycle. It is developing a love for country life, and is thus counteracting that tendency of the population to concentrate in cities which has been so steadily on the increase in recent years. Suburban life with a bicycle loses much of its isolated character. It brings within the social circle of every family all other families within a radius of ten or even twenty miles. With good roads, the latter distance is no more formidable barrier to social intercourse than two or three miles were before the bicycle's advent. And the good roads are inevitable. They are coming in all directions, and they are coming because the bicycle is creating an irresistible demand for them. Putting all other social and economic effects of the bicycle aside, its influence as a missionary for scientific road-building is alone sufficient to entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the American people.

JOSEPH B. BISHOP.

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ALTRUISM IN ECONOMICS.

It is an observation which I have often made—but it is one which will bear repeating—that books which affect to be scientific deserve careful criticism not only in proportion to their intrinsic worth, but to the worth imputed to them by any considerable section of the public. A book has of late received wide attention in America, which illustrates this truth in a very signal way. I refer to Mr. Kidd's treatise on "Social Evolution," which has been hailed as being before all things an example—some writers have hailed it as being the first example—of true scientific methods applied to social affairs. In this article I propose to call the reader's attention to two of his propositions only, and, by comparing and contrasting them, to draw a moral which bears on a problem of great practical moment—the problem of socialized charity, or systematic help for the poor, on the mere ground of their poverty, as a class.

One of these propositions, to which I now refer, neither is, nor affects to be, original. It is simply a restatement of a generally admitted truth; and all that Mr. Kidd does is to emphasize its importance as bearing on his own argument. He writes:—

"The successful peoples have moved *westward* for *physical* reasons; the seat of power has moved continually *northwards* for reasons connected with *the evolution in character which the race is undergoing.* Man, originally a creature of a warm climate and still multiplying most easily and rapidly there, has not attained his highest development where the conditions of existence have been the easiest. Throughout history the centre of power has moved gradually but surely to the north, into those stern regions where men have been trained for the rivalry of life in the strenuous conflict with nature, in which they have acquired energy, courage, integrity, and those characteristic qualities which contribute to raise them to a high state of social efficiency. The shifting of power northwards has been a feature alike of modern and of ancient history. The peoples whose influence to-day reaches over the greater part of the world, both temperate and tropical, belong almost exclusively to races whose geographical home is north of the fortieth parallel of latitude."

Let us compare with this the other proposition—that the most important social change taking place now, and promising to become more

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and more marked in the future, is, according to Mr. Kidd, the gradual surrender to the many of the main advantages which have hitherto been monopolized by the few. One of Mr. Kidd's points is that this surrender will not be extorted by the many; for the many, who are composed of the individually weaker members of the community, would never be able to extort it, were the few, with their superior faculties, organization, and position, seriously inclined to oppose them. The few will surrender their privileges voluntarily, although gradually, in deference to a growing belief in the equal rights of all, and a sympathetic desire that all should at least have equal chances. "It is the influence," says Mr. Kidd, in a sentence which he prints in italics, "*it is the influence of this fund of altruism in our civilization that has undermined the position of the power-holding class.*" I quote this sentence to show the reader the extraordinary emphasis with which Mr. Kidd asserts that the few will, no matter under what influence, divide their advantages with the many in such a way as to bring all members of the community, however weak, "into the rivalry of life on conditions of equality."

I propose to enquire, on some future occasion, how far Mr. Kidd has realized, with any scientific precision, what these "conditions of equality" or "equalities of opportunity" are: but it is enough here to observe that they will at all events involve some such process as this—the division amongst the weaker of certain accumulated external advantages which the weaker, in virtue of their weakness, have not been able to secure for themselves. Let us take a simple illustration. Let us suppose two youths equal in intellectual capacity, but very unequal in energy and strength of character. Both desire to succeed in a career for which a colloquial knowledge of foreign languages is necessary and, from the age of fifteen to that of twenty, both have equal opportunities of attending some school where French and German are taught. But during these five years one devotes his spare hours to earning money by some employment; the other has not the foresight or energy to do this. Accordingly by the time they both are twenty, the one has a sum of money which will enable him to live abroad for some years and perfect his knowledge both of foreign languages and foreign life. The other has no such fund, and is obliged to remain at home. The opportunities of both, which, when both were fifteen, were equal, now when they both are twenty exhibit an enormous inequality. Taking the stronger of these two youths as the type of the power-holding classes, Mr. Kidd's contention is that he is ready at the present

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moment, and will hereafter become more ready, to share his savings with his less energetic friend, in order to enable him to go abroad also, and thus render him as formidable a competitor as possible; thereby annihilating on the one hand the external advantages which greater strength of character secures for itself, and softening on the other hand all those rigors of circumstance with which inferior energy, even *more than inferior intellect, naturally surrounds itself, before life has* advanced far.

The reader, perhaps, may at first be inclined to wonder what these two propositions, which I have thus set side by side, have to do with each other; but a very short explanation will show him that they are related intimately. Indeed they are related so intimately that the second is, as used in Mr. Kidd's argument, a categorical contradiction of the first. The ultimate gist of Mr. Kidd's argument is this,—that by the constant division amongst the weak of the acquired advantages of the strong, the rivalry of existence will be raised to its highest pitch of efficiency, and every member of the community, whether he is relatively a success or a failure, will at least do with his faculties the very utmost of which they render him capable. But let us compare this proposition with the preceding proposition about climate. A climate comparatively rigorous, according to Mr. Kidd's position, promotes, and is indeed essential to, progress, because it necessitates a constant struggle on the part of all—a struggle which tends to eliminate the weaker and leave the stronger as survivors; whilst a climate which renders life tolerable without many luxuries or even comforts, and yields a subsistence to the minimum of industry and effort, not only enables the least talented and strenuous to survive, but relaxes the springs of energy in many who would be otherwise energetic. This fact is admitted by social philosophers of all schools, and Mr. Kidd very properly states it as one which is beyond the reach of controversy; but he fails to see that if the energetic few were really to be always dividing their advantages with the less energetic many, they would be artificially creating social conditions, whose effects would be precisely similar to those ascribed by him so unhesitatingly to the climates in which life is easiest.

It forms no part of my purpose in this article to dwell on any personal aspect of Mr. Kidd's reasoning. I have quoted Mr. Kidd here not because his reasoning on this point is peculiar to himself; but because, on the contrary, he offers us in this respect nothing more than an exceptionally clear example of an inconsistency which, more

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than anything else, distinguishes the great mass of the more emotional and least thoughtful of our contemporary social reformers. For, put into plain and homely English, what does Mr. Kidd's promised division amongst the many of the external advantages possessed by the power-holding classes amount to, but charity practised on a vastly extended scale? The very essence of what we mean by charity is the making over to a man of something, whether in the form of money or of some other possession, for which the man does not render an equivalent. So far as its effect upon the recipient is concerned, it makes no matter whether the gift comes to him from the state, as something to which he has a legal claim, or from a private individual, or a group of private individuals, who give it to him under the internal compulsion of what Mr. Kidd calls their "altruism"; and Mr. Kidd, in identifying progress with the extension of systematic charity, is merely giving expression to the commonest, but at the same time the most ill-digested, idea by which all the more excitable sections of contemporary reformers are united. If social change in the future is really to follow the lines which Mr. Kidd and these reformers alike suggest, and if the needs of the weak or the comparatively unsuccessful are to constitute a universal claim on the altruism of the successful and the strong, the result, let me repeat, will be to produce an artificial climate which will, to cite the limit mentioned by Mr. Kidd, make the regions which lie "north of the fortieth parallel of latitude" even more socially enervating than those which lie south of it. Altruism of this kind would do nothing but intensify the very evils which Mr. Kidd imagines that it would correct. Wills and motives that are at present weak would inevitably become weaker. Inefficiency and want would increase in proportion as their relief became certain. It may indeed be laid down as a cardinal maxim that to relieve all misery would be far more cruel than to relieve none.[1]

[1] The inability of charity, of altruism, or systematic surrender of their possessions on the part of the power-holding classes, to relieve distress on any extended scale, is no mere matter of theory: it has been continually illustrated by vast experiments. In THE FORUM for August, 1895, in dealing with the question of the Socialistic argument for an income-tax, I referred to the operation of the old poor-law in England, and the disastrous results of the attempt to relieve poverty by supplementing low wages by a grant out of the pockets of the state. But, without going back to the earlier years of the century, we have facts close at hand which teach us a similar lesson. Although, contrary to the favorite statement of the Socialists, the amount of distress in modern progressive countries is diminishing relatively to the population, the amount of it massed upon given areas, in our modern cities, is absolutely greater than anything which existed

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This is a hard saying—hard in more senses than one—until it is examined carefully; but when it is examined much of its hardness goes, though unfortunately not all. Something still remains which shocks our humanitarian sentiments. Let us consider what these sentiments, as entertained by sober-minded men, are. Mr. John Morley expresses them very clearly when he declares that the aim and object at the heart of modern democracy is to help and protect those who are least able to help and protect themselves, or, in other words, that it is the duty of the strong to help and protect the weak. To say this is to say something that appeals to everybody; and, if it appeals to us when we consider the poorer classes generally, much more does it appeal to us when we consider those who, surrounded by the wealthy and the comfortable, are hardly able to supply themselves with daily bread. But these considerations are not restricted to the mere question of the necessaries of existence. A certain class of sympathetic minds, in contemplating the immense variety of intellectual occupations, interests, pleasures, and forms of success, rendered possible by an advancing civilization, discerns a deeper tragedy than even the want of bread, in the fate which condemns multitudes to manual labor, who might otherwise, if they only had the chance, have worked with their brains and enjoyed the privilege of culture. Thoughts and feelings such as these are familiar enough to all of us. They constitute, in fact, what Mr. Kidd calls the "fund of modern altruism."

It will be seen then that modern altruism or charity sets before itself two objects. One is to assist the weak, so that not even the weakest shall want the necessaries and even the decencies of life; the

during former periods. Indeed General Booth was probably virtually right when he described the distressed class as "the submerged tenth." This calculation would give to London alone a distressed population of five hundred thousand persons. But now let us consider another fact, to which Mr. Kidd calls attention in the following emphatic words. "The annual revenue," he writes, "of the private charities of London alone is close upon five million pounds sterling; or equal to the entire public revenue of some of the smaller states." This means that the charities of London would yield annually £10 per head to the entire distressed population; or from £40 to £50 annually to each distressed family. If such a revenue is unable to extinguish distress now, does Mr. Kidd imagine that we should be able to extinguish it were this revenue doubled, and if every time the weaker members of the community wasted their opportunities or injured those of their children we were to set them on their legs again and deliver them from the consequences of their weakness? There is not the smallest doubt that we should be increasing distress, not extinguishing it. We should be pouring oil on a conflagration.

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other is so to assist all talents that no man capable of the higher kinds of activity shall be debarred from using his faculties for want of opportunity of developing them. I propose to consider Charity under each of the two aspects thus indicated. In each case there is involved a distinct set of considerations, which must be dealt with separately and I shall take the second case first.

Many people, who realize the disastrous results that would ensue were the state to aim at producing an absolute economic equality, who realize that in this way not only would idleness be encouraged but exceptional talent discouraged, imagine, as Mr. Kidd does, that they have found a way out of their difficulty by the celebrated modern doctrine of equality of opportunity. The idea expressed in this phrase is sometimes intended to include, and indeed primarily to mean, an equality of opportunity of performing some kind of labor, which will secure for a man his daily bread, and keep him from theft or begging: but it usually means something that is very much more limited, namely, an equality of opportunity of using not mere average faculties, but faculties which are above the average and which, if a fitting opportunity were given them, would enter the arena of life's larger prizes, and thus not only would secure a just reward for themselves, but for the community generally a higher standard of performance by increasing the intensity of competition in all the higher kinds of work. This is emphatically the view that is set forth by Mr. Kidd; and in this instance, as in so many others, he is merely expressing in somewhat novel language a view which has long been common to the whole body of our more sanguine and emotional reformers. The ideas of such persons contain a modicum of truth; but the truth, such as it is, is not only much exaggerated, but vitiated by certain definite fallacies which render it false and misleading.

The first of these fallacies is negative rather than positive, and consists in ignoring both a fundamental fact of human nature and a fundamental fact of economics. In the present state of the arts and sciences of production (and there is nothing to show that the situation could ever be more than slightly changed), the vast numerical majority of any community have necessarily to give their lives to the performance of manual tasks; and that these tasks should be the principal occupation of the persons who perform them is, in most cases, a necessary condition of their being performed well. They cannot be taken up, dropped, or exchanged for others. Tillage, for instance, and coal-mining would be more arduous as occasional, than they are as habitual,

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occupations. This is one of the two facts to which I allude: and now we come to the other, which must be taken along with it. It is possible to educate almost any human being so that the larger part of the work which must be performed by the vast majority of any possible community shall be distasteful to him, and he shall naturally demand some position and occupation which can, from the very nature of things, be apportioned to the few only. An illustration taken from actual life is to be found in the fact that, in many country districts of England, the rising generation of laborers' sons are anxious, before all things, for employment as railway porters. For five vacant posts there are a hundred applicants. Similarly also the sons of the small farmer and shopkeeper desire to be commercial clerks: and such examples may be multiplied. Now when the desire to rise is the result of some talent above the average, it forms the most powerful of all motives to useful work, and is indeed the mainspring of national energy and progress; but the peculiar point to be observed here with regard to this desire is, that education as at present directed has the effect, and is designed to have it, of exciting the desire in all individuals alike, and producing, not only an approximation to equality of opportunity, but, as its counterpart, an equality of ambitions also. In fact this last is almost the only sort of equality that education does produce.

And now let us consider the results of educations thus directed, taking, first, the results anticipated by such advocates, for instance, as Mr. Kidd; and secondly, its actual results as experience has thus far exhibited them.

According to Mr. Kidd and the whole body of reformers whose opinions he represents, there is, as I have said already, a vast amount of superior talent, and even of genius, that remains latent and has never been able to exercise itself, simply because external opportunities have been distributed so unequally. Now that such a theory is applicable to certain exceptional cases may be quite true; but that it is not true to any important extent has been demonstrated in the most conclusive way by a series of historical experiments. Let us take the case of literature. Since the days of Shakespeare, the diffusion of wealth and education and the growth of an appreciative public have been continually increasing the opportunities and inducements for developing literary talent; and the result is that under Queen Victoria there is a larger percentage of persons capable of writing correct and readable English than there were under Queen Elizabeth. But though the literary output of a certain moderate quality has vastly increased in

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quantity, the United Kingdom to-day, with its forty millions of inhabitants and its wide diffusion of opportunities, has not yielded more writers of the first order of merit, than the England of Shakespeare, of Bacon, of Milton, and of Dryden did, when a great proportion of the population was almost, if not quite, illiterate, and its number was vastly less than it is to-day. Or again, let us take the case of the French army, which is probably one of the completest experiments in equality of opportunity that can be found. It cannot be maintained that France, since the days of Napoleon, has produced a greater number of great military leaders, or even a body of more efficient officers, than has been produced by Germany or by England. If there were any truth in ideas such as those of Mr. Kidd, France should have a perennial supply, if not of First Napoleons, at all events of Marshal Neys, and of Louis Napoleons; while, as a matter of fact, the mountain has been in labor for a hundred years and has in our day brought forth nothing but General Boulanger. The truth of the matter is that the common and inferior kinds of intellectual accomplishments, and these only, can be largely increased or diminished by the enlargement or contraction of the circle of opportunity; but whether the increase of these accomplishments is beneficial or injurious to the community generally and the persons by whom they are acquired, depends altogether on the relation of the supply to the social demand. If the supply exceeds the demand, not only is the community in no way benefited, but the accomplished persons are the first and the keenest sufferers, as is shown to-day by the case of mercantile and other clerks, whose number has so increased that their salaries have, on the whole, sunk below the wages of skilled manual labor. On the other hand, superior talent—the talent that leads, and guides, and pushes the world forward—always as a rule, allowance being made for exceptions, creates its own opportunities, if circumstance have not supplied them ready-made. Talent that is fit to push the world forward is usually quite capable of pushing itself forward first, and strengthens and matures itself by this preliminary process. Multiplied facilities for writing and printing poetry have not called into glory many "mute inglorious Miltons"; nor has extended suffrage brought to light many Cromwells who would otherwise have remained obscure. Circumstance, at worst, is for most men merely a wicker cage; and if they are not strong enough to burst through the yielding bars, they will not be strong enough to do anything very remarkable.

But not only would the extension of equality of intellectual

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opportunity entirely fail to produce the good results which are so inaccurately expected of it: it would produce certain positive evil results; indeed it has actually produced them already. I indicated them in passing; but I will now describe them more specifically. Not only does an undue extension fail to develop a corresponding increase of exceptionally efficient talent, but it multiplies discontent and failures far more than successes. The principle underlying it is neither more nor less than this—that all should aim at raising themselves above the necessity of that work to which the immense majority of mankind must always necessarily be devoted. If all the plowmen, masons, colliers, and fishermen, in the world, have been taught in youth to desire some position and occupation higher than plowing, building, hewing coal, or fishing, these humble but necessary callings will become marks of defeat and failure; those who pursue them will do so with a sense of discontent and bitterness; and a new curse, far harsher than the old, will have been pronounced upon ordinary labor. In other words, the development of equality of ambition (which, as I have said, is inseparable from what is called equality of opportunity) would discredit the larger part of the inevitable work of the world. It might relieve a few backs of their burdens; but it would make the backs of the majority, that must still bear them, sorer. The real condition of things at which reform should aim, is not the indiscriminate securing of equal opportunity for all, or the stimulation in all of an equal desire to rise; but the restriction of these opportunities and ambitions to those whose exceptional vigor of character or intellect will enable them to use the one and to fulfil the other.

So much then for the doctrine of equality of intellectual opportunity. It is not really the principal point to which I desire to address myself; but I have thought it necessary to dwell on it because, by reformers generally, it is confused with a doctrine of a much wider scope. My object has been to show that it is not, in any extended sense, a doctrine bearing on popular reform at all. It contains no message of hope to the great masses of the people. Its promised salvation is confined to a new species of middle class. Let us turn then to equality of opportunity, as understood in a wider sense—as understood to mean the opportunity of any man and every man to make a comfortable livelihood by some ordinary work. Within what limits is it right, and within what limits is it wrong, to aim at producing such an opportunity for those who happen to be without it? The answer to this question depends in the first instance on what kind of livelihood it is

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in contemplation to provide. If nothing is contemplated beyond the bare means of subsistence, these are guaranteed already by the English workhouse system. But equality of opportunity to earn a living does not mean, in the mouths of any of those who talk about it, equality of opportunity to break stones in a workhouse yard, but to earn a living under circumstances not less favorable than those of the average thriving workman. It means that each man, *because he is a man*, and especially each father, *because he is a father*, has a moral claim on the community to the enjoyment of what is called a "living wage"; and it means in addition to this, that if a man finds himself, owing to circumstances, unable to earn such a wage under any private employer, this inability shall constitute a claim either on the state or some other organization to secure for him a similar wage by some artificial means, which wage is to be earned under conditions equally agreeable to him. In other words, to quote the favorite phrase of our reformers, the aim of social reform is, by means of organization of some kind, to create a machinery which "shall render poverty impossible."

In examining such views as these, there are two points to be considered. It is proposed to provide a certain "living wage" for all persons who cannot, under existing conditions, earn it; and to do this by providing them with some kind of work. Now, putting aside idlers and the disabled, people are out of work for one or other of two reasons—because they are below the average point of aptitude and efficiency, and thus cannot earn a wage which they could earn if their efficiency were greater; or because the conditions of industry at the time are such that, even supposing their efficiency to be up to the average standard, private employers are unable to find work for them which shall be worth the wages asked for it. Now do the most altruistic reformers maintain that, whether by state organization or by private organization, they will be able to devise means by which work shall have a value, when undertaken under their direction, which cannot be imparted to it by the direction of any private employer? Should such persons, under the stimulus of altruism, be always able to do this, and to develop such commercial and industrial talent as they could profitably employ when the private employer could not do so, the whole problem would be solved. But few reformers would seriously make such a claim for themselves; and certainly none of them has ever done anything to justify it. Such then being the case, all relief for the unemployed, the insufficiently paid, and indeed for the distressed classes generally, must necessarily take the form of giving more for their work than it is

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worth. It must, either wholly or in part, be a free gift—a work of charity, though of charity so disguised that its recipients may not recognize it. Now is it the duty of the more prosperous classes of the community, or within what limits is it their duty, to bestow such charity on the less prosperous classes, whether by the agency of the state, or that of private organizations? Can it be said that, with the exception of criminals and confirmed loafers, the community is bound to supply "a living wage"—a wage which shall represent the average standard of comfort—to all persons who are unable to earn it in the ordinary market?

In answer to this, it must be said at once that even the right to live, which is recognized by existing poor-laws, is, *if it means a right to live in a certain county*, a right which can be recognized only with implied limitations; still less can there be any general right to live in some specified state of comfort. If the coal of the United Kingdom became exhausted, and its trade declined like that of Venice, it would be absurd to say that its existing population of forty millions had a right to live in a country which could not then support fifteen. The more energetic of the superfluous inhabitants would emigrate of their own accord; the less energetic would have to be deported somehow. We need not, however, dwell on this hypothetical case. We assume that the unemployed and distressed classes are not so numerous, that the prosperous part of the community could not, so far as the mere cost is concerned, manage to maintain them in a condition of average comfort. The question is, how far would the support thus given tend to fulfil the objects of the altruism by which it was inspired?

Let us begin by considering what, as an actual fact, is the cause of distress which altruism desires to remedy. Is it the inferiority of the distressed persons? Or is it those broad external circumstances which we call "bad times," and which affect all classes simultaneously? Or again, is it the displacement of labor in certain trades by machinery, or by the fluctuations of fashion? According to the answer to these questions, the distressed persons to be assisted fall into two categories. If the cause of the distress is merely bad times, or sudden diplacement of labor, the unemployed are suffering from no inferiority of their own, and nothing but circumstances entirely independent of themselves prevent them from doing as good work and earning as good wages as do their fellows who remain in employment still. Those whose want of employment, or of employment at a certain rate of wages, is due to some inferiority of their own, stand on a different footing. Now

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official enquiries which have recently been made in England unmistakably show that, while there doubtless are considerable numbers who at any given time may be suffering, through no fault of their own, from some displacement of labor, or at certain periods from some general depression of trade, yet such persons are invariably a small minority. The Labor Commission reports that whatever may be true of numerous individual cases, yet if we take the distressed classes thousand by thousand, the bulk of each thousand will be found to consist of persons who for some reason or other are lowest in the scale of efficiency, and that their distress arises less from want of opportunity, than from want of capacity, to earn an average wage. We may conveniently describe these two classes of sufferers as the *unlucky workmen* and the *inferior workmen*. Both classes are suffering from the same misfortune, namely, the inability to earn a wage which shall keep them in some given state of comfort. What would be the result of doing what our altruistic reformers propose to do, and giving them arbitrarily, at the expense of the rest of the community, the incomes which they at present lack?

Let us take the case of the unlucky workman first. Both bad times, and the displacement of labor by machinery, are held by many to be the price which we pay for progress; and seeing that this progress benefits the community as a whole, the community as a whole ought to bear the expense of insuring those of its members who accidentally are sufferers from the process. Against this argument in the abstract there is, it seems to me, very little to be said. It embodies an idea of justice which at once appeals to all of us. But, as soon as we attempt to devise means for giving effect to it, all sorts of difficulties reveal themselves; for, if the proposals of our altruistic reformers were actually carried out, we should find them in practice embodying the following principle—namely, that if any competent workman who has been earning certain wages is discharged by any private employer, or, having left the service of one employer, fails to find employment under another, the state, or some other organization, is bound to employ him at similar wages, and under not less favorable conditions. That this, from the very nature of the case, would be a loss to the community generally, I have pointed out already; but I do not here insist upon it. I assume that this mere loss to itself is one which the community should bear. I am concerned now only with the effect of such an arrangement on the workman. The effect would certainly be this—if any competent workman, earning say six shillings a day under a

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private employer, knew that the mere fact of his leaving his employer's service gave him a claim on the state for employment at similar wages, which would, moreover, be independent of the economic value of his work, then, under such circumstances, no private employer would have any guarantee whatever for the industry or the ordinary good conduct of any one of those employed by him. Not only would the community lose by the fact that wages paid by it through the state were greater than the work for which they were paid justified; not only would the workmen whom the state thus relieved be demoralized by the knowledge that useless work would be paid for at the same rate as useful; but the whole body of workers throughout the entire country would be demoralized by the knowledge that, if they failed to do their best for their present employers, they would receive the same wages from the state whether they did their best or worst.

And now let us turn to the case, not of the unlucky workmen, but of the inferior workmen, which supplies us after all with the main problem of poverty. Let us consider the position toward them taken up by our modern altruists. These reformers tell us that, owing to the constitution of human nature, some of our fellows are doubtless born weaker and more helpless than others; but they remind us at the same time that these unfortunates are our equals in many ways—in their needs, in their desire for happiness, and in their capacity for suffering. If, therefore, they cannot help themselves to an average share in the good things of life, their stronger brethren ought to come to their rescue and offer a helping hand to the feeble, the halt, and the blind. Indeed not only *ought* the stronger brethren to do this; but, so our altruists urge, they *are* daily becoming fuller of a keen desire to do so; and this desire is daily realizing itself in an increasing number of ways.

Now here again is a view of things which, if we take it in the abstract, appeals to the sympathies of all of us as at once humane and just. When, however, we come to consider the practical application of it, we find ourselves confronted with a truth which is as old as the earliest of civilizations—namely, that *human ideas are more perfect than human nature;* or, in other words, that *they are always apt to be formed in forgetfulness of the imperfections by which human nature is characterized.* For though the comparison of the unfortunate classes to cripples, or to other similar sufferers, is calculated to touch the heart, it ignores what is really the central fact of the situation, namely, that the main cause of inferiority amongst the least efficient classes is not a weakness of

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muscle, but rather a weakness of will; and that this kind of weakness, though apparent only in some, is really latent in every human being and is liable under certain circumstances to spread itself like an epidemic. My meaning is very simple. It is conceded by thinkers and economists of all schools, that one of the governing laws of human action is that men will seek the satisfaction of their desires at the cost of the least possible effort. It is not meant that every man will work as few hours as possible; but that he will work as few hours as possible in proportion to the result aimed at. If he suddenly finds that he can make a thousand dollars an hour, he will work perhaps sixteen hours to-morrow, whereas he worked only ten yesterday: but he will not work two hours to make a thousand dollars, if he finds it possible to make a similar sum in one. In other words, there is a close and constant connection between will and motive—so much so, that if the wealth which men now work for were offered them by a magician as a gift, all wealth-production would cease and be turned into mere wealth-reception. No one has admitted this more strongly than the Socialists, who urge their followers to look forward to the glorious time when they will get all they want by laboring for two hours a day. Now there is, with certain few exceptions which are to be found in the arts and work allied to the arts, the same inclination to take the least possible *trouble* over work as there is to take the least possible *time;* and any workman, whatever his natural powers, works well only in proportion to his trouble in developing and exercising them. If, then, the relation between this trouble and its results should be systematically disturbed either by state or by private charity, so that the workman, whilst relaxing his trouble, loses nothing of his reward, his will to exert himself will of necessity become paralyzed and his quality as a workman will degenerate. And if this would happen amongst those whose wills are of normal strength, it would happen still more rapidly amongst those whose wills are weak now, who are unable to concentrate their faculties, or regulate their conduct, even under conditions which render the consequence of their remissness so disastrous to them, and who constitute the larger part of the distressed classes in the modern world. That is to say, were we really so to assist the economic cripples of contemporary civilization in such a way as to enable them to keep pace with the hale and stout, we should be, at once in most cases, increasing the weakness which we endeavored to assist, and also be infecting with it those who had till now been strong. In a word, if altruism should at any time lead the community to secure for

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the inferior residuum of the moment a condition and means of life equal to those of any other section of the population who at that moment were earning superior wages, the result would inevitably be to reduce the efficacy of these superior workers to the level of the efficacy of the most demoralized and the most inferior.

To return then to the altruistic doctrine, as set forth by Mr. Kidd, who is only the mouthpiece in this respect of all our more emotional reformers:—what Mr. Kidd constantly speaks of as "the softening" in the character of "the power-holding classes," which is leading them, he says, to share their advantages with the weaker and more incapable, would really be something more than he imagines. It would be the inevitable cause of a softening in the wills of those whom they sought to benefit. It would weaken those who are already weak; it would make those weak who are already strong; nor is there any sign that by the *largesse* of equal intellectual opportunities there would be any increase in the stock of talent of the first class. There would be merely, at best, an increase in the lower kinds of accomplishments beyond any use that the community would be able to make of them, and ruinous before all things to their discontented and disappointed possessors. That altruism or charity within limits is at once a human impulse as real as it is self-seeking, and absolutely necessary to any well-ordered community, is no doubt a truth which it is not possible to exaggerate. But it is equally true that in carrying this impulse into practice in such a way as to enable it to accomplish and not defeat its objects, it must be guarded and hedged in by a variety of complicated restrictions. What these restrictions are it is no part of my purpose to discuss here. All that I have insisted on in this paper is, that these necessary restrictions are precisely those which the altruism of modern reformers tends most pointedly to neglect; and that by endeavoring to erect distress and weakness, as such, into a claim on the systematic help of the state or any other organization, these reformers are going ever farther and farther away from the true and difficult solution of that most complicated of all problems—how to help human distress and weakness, without increasing it where it exists, and at the same time developing it where it does not.

W. H. Mallock.

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THE FREE-COINAGE EPIDEMIC.

THERE can be no doubt that had our country been shielded by a sound protective tariff during the hopeless years of the present Democratic Administration, much of the business distress and woe of unemployed labor might have been averted; but another adverse and sore bewitchery of all business affairs in the United States, hardly less potent than a free-trade tariff, has been the unceasing agitation of the free coinage of silver at a ratio that would not fail to reduce the standard value of our money, as well as the whole fabric of public and private credit, to one half its present value. Parties most respectable in numbers and ability, as well as parties with that reputation yet to win, have together made what they call "demonetized silver" their snarling and woful Jeremiad, and to them might justly be imputed the fatherhood of much of the unrest and distrust in many industries which now becloud even Republican institutions. They have disclosed the fact that the people of several States are not unwilling to pay debts in cheaper money than what they borrowed, nor to obtain wealth by compelling the Government to take their silver bullion at twice its value. The extreme positions thus proclaimed have jostled and prodded all American securities abroad, insomuch that their easily frightened holders have been sending them home on a canter.

There is a lofty, imperial assumption among its 16-to-1-standard advocates that silver has a miraculous dignity of character as one of the elect money metals, and that it must not be wickedly degraded by having its value subjected to criticism or to the vulgar test of a commercial market. Therefore any inquiry into the present standing and character of the white metal, even if not so white as it should be, is to be regarded as worthy only of wicked Pharisees and unscrupulous "gold bugs."

The droll and weak-backed contention appears to be, if the United States should alone open its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, that it would at once be hoisted to its ancient full-coinage value, and would not only increase the value of the silver actually coined in the United States, but would increase the value of silver in all the

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markets of the world. It is also preposterously claimed by the supporters of the silver 16-to-1 standard that its consumption in the arts or in whatever manner, however large, except that of free coinage as standard money, will debase and not increase its value, and that even the purchase and coinage of silver is not an equivalent of bimetallism. Nothing less than the perpetual free coinage of silver until the crack of doom, and giving to the owners all the difference between its nominal and its real value, with no charge of seigniorage, it is seriously urged, will prove a wholesome tonic and restore silver to its former prestige and standard value. According to this hysterical theory the United States may thus indefinitely inflate our currency with silver dollars; but, should their coinage at our mints ever cease or be suspended, the Treasury and our people would find these dollars had suddenly tumbled from their fiat value to that of the paralytic class of 50-cent dollars.

The increase of the annual silver product of the world since 1873 has been very great, that of the United States alone being, in 1894, in coinage value, $77,575,757, or almost as much as the $81,800,000 of the whole world in 1873. Our present stock of silver ($624,000,000), now mainly in the Treasury, and a drug wherever pushed as circulation, is excessive and far beyond any legitimate demand. If, therefore, it is now a task of some difficulty to sustain our silver and silver certificates on a parity with gold, obviously an unlimited increase of such currency would be perilous.

If the Government has been sadly overreached financially by taking at a cost much too dear from the mine owners several hundred million ounces of silver, for which its obligations were exchanged, to circulate as money, it appears to have only prompted the mine owners, after silver has had a further and profounder slump, to saddle a bigger job upon the Government and people, and the demand now made is for the free and unlimited coinage of all the silver bullion, domestic or foreign, which may be brought to our mints. For all this our paper obligations, in the shape of silver certificates, are to be exchanged, to circulate as the chief part of our paper money, and be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues at the rate of $1 for 371¼ grains of silver, or at nearly twice the present value. The Government can never recoup its loss of more than $150,000,000 on its recently acquired stock of silver, as that loss, like the depreciated silver itself, came to stay; but the loss may be indefinitely expanded if the silver autocrats now succeed in their world-wide 16-to-1 free-coinage

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plot. In spite of all past experience, we are asked to stubbornly embark alone in the knight-errantry of a world-bounded coinage of silver dollars, having the very significant legend "In God we Trust" prayerfully stamped upon their face, but dollars only in circumference and number of pennyweights, not in real value, and with the honorable pledge of the United States to preserve their parity with gold carefully, silently, and wholly omitted. If it was a great crime in the sixth, fourteenth, and sixteenth centuries for the rulers of nations to grossly debase their silver coins for their own profit and to defraud their subjects by injecting such coins into circulation as standard money, a similar act to-day of defrauding the people cannot be sweetened by the denial of any depreciation of the metal or made innocuous by providing that the profit of coining depreciated silver shall accrue to, and be pocketed wholly by, the owners of silver mines.

Hamilton and Jefferson are entitled to the credit of establishing the ratio of our gold and silver coins, and their labor then was what it would be were they here to-day—to fix the ratio precisely in proportion to the intrinsic value of gold and silver. In 1805, under Jefferson's Administration, the coinage of silver dollars was wholly suspended and not resumed for more than thirty years. Jefferson then furnished the precedent for what is now denounced as the "demonetization of silver," "the great crime of 1873," and yet the learned and alert Senator from Nevada, Mr. Stewart, has neither denounced the thirty years of silver demonetization nor the great crime of Jefferson in 1805.

Even at the present reduced value of silver bullion, its pursuit is indisputably more remunerative than that of agriculture or manufactures, and this fact appears to be confirmed by a distinguished Senator from one of the silver fertilized States who, with pardonable exultation, has told us that the wealth of his people is two dollars to one compared with that of the more populous eastern States of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania; and yet all the Senators from the States now enriched or pregnant with silver rigorously demand about 100 per cent additional profit on their silver bullion, through its coinage by the Government, although that profit must come out of the more limited earnings of those whose wealth, after two hundred years of hard labor, by themselves or their ancestors, is only one dollar to two, compared with that in some of these young and more wealthy silver States.

We are often sympathetically informed by silver-tongued orators that Japan manufactures numerous articles—bicycles especially—far cheaper than they can be made in the United States, and that it is the

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silver currency of the Oriental people which confers upon them this mastery by the cheaper payment of their wage-earners, who are now receiving less than one third of what is paid in the United States, and are paid in silver, as they were before its great superabundance had so largely depreciated its value throughout the world. The patent and only remedy of the United States, as we are pitifully told, is to crush this all-conquering Japanese competition by equalizing our exchanges; that is to say, by pushing our silver coinage to the front, leaving gold behind as a commodity to be bought and sold at a premium, and thus to obtain the supremacy of cheap silver with which to pay all American wage-earners. To thus equalize exchanges would not relieve us of the competition unless it brought down American wages, as would be the manifest tendency, to the level of wages in Japan, or brought up Japanese wages to the level of wages in America. For, beyond all controversy, wherever the silver standard of money alone practically prevails, the lowest and poorest standard of wages prevails. The wages of the progressive Japanese, however, within the last ten years have been much increased, and their workmen are likely to demand American wages long before Americans will stoop to accepting wages now current in Japan. Free coinage of silver as a remedy against Japanese or any cheap foreign labor would prove very much like taking refuge in a pest-house to avoid the plague.

Bimetallism is nothing more than two-metallism, though sometimes industriously and artfully used to mean the unlimited free coinage of gold and silver. The term was first used by Cernuschi, a distinguished Frenchman, soon after Germany and the Latin nations had lost confidence in the stability of silver money. When this prominent leader of bimetallism visited this country some years later, he was invited by me to a dinner party, and his advice then was against the free coinage of silver without the cooperation of other leading nations, as no nation was competent alone to handle so large a question. M. Cernuschi reiterated that opinion several times afterward. If the United States start in this desperate silver risk alone, of course we shall be defeated, and silver will be further humbled and take a lower position in the estimation of all commercial nations.

Certainly an invitation from commercial nations to join in a co-operative agreement for a larger money use of silver would be accepted by a Republican Administration, though it would be more desirable that the United States should receive rather than offer the invitation, as the American production of silver is so large that any initiatory step

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on our part might subject us to the charge of being inspired by the thrifty purpose of securing a better market for our product. But, were it as certain, as some extreme silver advocates represent, that no cooperative agreement among leading nations for a larger use of silver can be obtained, that fact alone would be a cogent and sufficient reason why the United States should decline to embark single-handed in an experiment so reckless and so distrusted as to be shunned and coldly rejected by the statesmen of every enlightened nation.

Our southern States are for the most part far less densely populated than their sister States of equal age, and the acreage of their uncultivated land is enormously greater. The unused water power of their numerous rivers, and their inexhaustible iron ores and coal-fields would seem to invite an unlimited expansion of diversified industries as well as a large increase of population. Their material prosperity and advance in the value of their estates in land must be, for generations to come, wholly based upon inspiring confidence in the owners of capital and in many people to move there with the view of finding a safe and conservative home for both labor and property. Instead of this the silver heresy, threatening the stability of all values, rages like an epidemic in the South, where it may be supposed that some advantage will be derived by cheap money in payment of cheap labor, and where, I fear, they are about to show their willingness to bid adieu to any large additional Anglo-Saxon growth. Now the highest ambition of all the enterprising people of our new States must be to attract large accessions of an industrious and intelligent class of citizens to their respective States. But will this be accomplished where one industry alone is made dominant, and where all other occupations, if not deemed intrusive, are held as subordinate, or where there is the same dictator in politics as in business? Our southern States also want to attract capital to make great and permanent investments within their magnificent boundaries; but, as an attractive sign to tempt either domestic or foreign capital and labor to go west of the Mississippi to build up safe and happy homes, will it be wise to advertise and tolerate no other financial flag but the silver standard at 16 to 1?

If the silver States want tariff on silver as a raw material in which they are largely interested, they may feel sure that Republicans will make no opposition to the imposition of such a tariff; but, if it is only an attempt to unload the depreciated white metal upon the people of the United States by demanding its unlimited coinage as the standard money of final redemption, then it must be discussed upon its present

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intrinsic or commercial merits, and the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold must now be dismissed as a stupendous fraud upon the pockets of the people, as well as an imputation upon their business capacity.

The free coinage of silver is treated by most of its advocates, not as a great national question touching many large commercial nations, and challenging all their financial resources, but merely as a local affair to be exclusively handled here by bluffing the whole world with a standing offer by statute law to receive at our mints and coin the present surplus and all the world's product of silver which may be annually presented. For all this, with no charge of seigniorage, the United States is to exchange silver certificates, to go into circulation as money at double the value of the silver received, and then it is claimed, with smooth-faced solemnity, that silver will at once spontaneously jump up to the same value where it stood years ago when the annual product was comparatively small and when its coinage had not ceased, as it has now ceased altogether among the largest commercial nations. There are some persons who accept with reluctance the miracles of the Bible but who eagerly accept in advance the miracle thus prophesied by stump orators concerning the resurrection of silver by the magic wand of the United States.

The attitude of William McKinley on the loudly-heralded silver problem was only questioned by partisan opponents, or by those who feared his Republican nomination for the Presidency. His friends knew long ago that his record, often repeated, was satisfactory, as was shown June 25, 1890, when he declared in the House of Representatives that, "Whatever dollars we have must all be equal dollars, equal in purchasing power, whether they be paper dollars, or gold dollars, or silver or Treasury notes." Our standard money has never been less than that of our own standard gold coins, and was in no more danger of depreciation from the nomination of McKinley than it would have been from the nomination of any other of the favorite sons of competing States. The X rays, though handled by expert opponents, have disclosed no unsoundness in any of them, as all, with the Republican party, have been pledged, ever since the resumption of specie payments in 1879, to make every dollar of legal-tender money in circulation, whether metallic or paper, as good as gold. Unlike some Democratic candidates, a Republican will not accept a nomination and then repudiate the platform.

The lone silver-keyed Republican delegates at St. Louis, having their foretops erect and bristling with their preordained bolting crisis,

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became polemical, in order to be consistent, and waged war against nine tenths of their previous associates, because the latter would not alone consent to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. At no time has the Republican party ever favored the free coinage of silver without the cooperation of other leading nations, and the party stands fast there to-day, neither more nor less, but maintaining all the time practical bimetallism, with more of silver coins in circulation on a parity with gold, as a part of our currency, than any other commercial nation. The bolters doubtless expected in a new political world to be embraced and veneered with greater honor at the Iroquois wigwam of the Democratic National Convention. But they would seem to have been unmindful of the sad fate of such eminent and conspicuous Republican deserters as Trumbull, Doolittle, Schurz, and Curtin, who, though at first profusely flattered and lightly fed with small sugar plums, were statesmen soon out of any job, save that of periodically bespattering and defaming the abandoned party to which they were indebted for their chief distinction. Of course there is pathos in "old men's tears for their own declensions," but it was unfortunate, just at the time when these later veterans were on tiptoe to woo favor from a Democratic National Convention, to blubber it out that their hearts had long had lodgings elsewhere. It was not an inviting attraction to Democratic fraternity, although a nomination may sometimes be more easily won than an election. The experience of Democrats makes them reluctant lovers of, or voters for, those whose hearts have had lodgings elsewhere, and Jacksonian sound-money Democrats are really not apt to suddenly swear eternal friendship to political philistines.

It has been said that "Anacharsis criticised the constitution of Athens, because the Athenians had wise men to debate and fools to decide." But no such commentary ever has been or will be made upon the United States, where universal education is broadly established, and where, after an experience of a century, so few great political questions have been wrongly decided by universal suffrage. A majority of our citizens, with all the common sense of their Anglo-Saxon race, practically understand enough of political economy to know quite as quickly, and as profoundly, as some learned professor, whether free trade or protection brings forth the largest measure of prosperity for the great and industrious American people. Sink or swim, our own plain people are ever more in touch with the conditions of the public welfare which confront them than with dogmatic theories.

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Few or none can doubt that the Republican party will give the country, as its great cardinal measure, a sound protective tariff that will furnish adequate revenue, preserve a good share of the American market for Americans, and will not be wildly yoked to a lame and vacillating silver legal-tender dollar when worth no more than fifty Bungtown coppers. It is true that during the war of the rebellion we only had a paper currency, and that wofully depreciated by the protracted contest; but our protective tariff upon foreign imports was then collected wholly in gold, and this kept all home industries humming with prosperity. The greater portion of those in the United States who claim to be bimetallists, in the sense of maintaining a currency of both gold and silver coins, knock out the underpinning on which their claim rests by daily clapperclawing and swearing at all measures of protection suggested against silver monometallism, or against measures known to be indispensable for the procurement, retention, and circulation of any gold as money. They scout the idea of obtaining gold by duties on imports of foreign merchandise, and to borrow it on bonds afflicts them with incurable madness. Their imbecile promise of a circulation of both gold and silver coins on a parity, at the ratio of 16 to 1, is as worthless as would be their promise to supply a world-wide demand for both geese and ostrich feathers while declining to maintain ostriches or anything beyond one great goose. The insincerity of these one-legged bimetallists is quite as palpable as loud professions of stalwart faith paraded without works. A McKinley Administration at Washington will open new books. The public expenditures will not be suffered to exceed the public income at the rate of twenty million dollars per annum, nor will an increase of the public debt in time of peace be regarded as anything less than a blunder.

American wage-earners alone are sufficiently numerous and wide-awake to determine rightly the pending financial problems, and there are none of these in any branch of industry who will be so dull as not to detect and expose the epidemical delusion of fifty cents' worth of silver when strutting as a dollar. The theory of the American Constitution—trust in the people—will not be, as it never has been, impeached, and the public credit will be heroically sustained, though assailed by a minority formidable by its proposal to establish a cheap foreign silver standard of money on the ruins of wrecked and discarded gold, and dangerous by the extent of the selfish legions summoned or impressed for its support.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

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BLUNDERS OF A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION: THE REMEDY.

THE subject which THE FORUM asks me to discuss has the advantage of definiteness of time. It leads back to and forbids our going back of June 21, 1892, when the National Convention of the Democratic party met in Chicago; and it extends to the National Convention of the Democratic party, called to meet in Chicago, July 7, 1896. The first important event of this four-year period was the adoption of a platform. A platform is a chart, by which the party to be entrusted with the legislation and administration of public affairs solemnly agrees to be guided. The distinctive features of the Democratic platform of June, 1892, were:—

1. The substitution of free trade for protection.
2. The substitution of State banks for National banks.
3. A coinage declaration which could be interpreted as for all-gold or all-silver, according as the political exigencies or expediencies of a locality or section might suggest.

It was well-known at the time that Mr. Cleveland was thoroughly and heartily opposed to the doctrine of protection. His defeat in 1888 was quite generally attributed, both in his party and out of it, to his Annual Message, as President, in 1887, which, departing from the usual custom of discussing the various affairs of the nation, was an elaborate argument against the protection of American industries, and in favor of free trade. This was not a new doctrine, nor was there anything fresh or original in the argument itself; but there was a boldness about it which fully justified the claim that Mr. Cleveland had the courage of his convictions. His defeat in 1888 did not, in 1892, dismay him or discourage his party. In 1884, it had been said of Mr. Cleveland by one of his admirers, "We love him for the enemies he has made",—referring to a factional quarrel in his own State. But, in 1892, the National Convention of his party said the same thing of him, but with special reference to the well-known protective policy of the Republican party.

There was considerable controversy in the National Democratic

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Convention of 1892 over the phraseology of the tariff plank of the platform. However, the object common to all seemed to be to make the declaration on that point perfectly distinct and unmistakable. A previous National Democratic Convention—that of 1848—had pointed to the tariff of 1846, and declared it, in so many words, to be a triumph for free trade, and gloried in it; but even that convention did not go to the extent of declaring that a tariff for protection was unconstitutional, as did the National Democratic Convention of 1892. The two parties were never so thoroughly committed as they were then, and as they are to-day, to their respective doctrines on the tariff question.

The McKinley Act of 1890 was framed on protective lines with a consistency unknown to any previous legislation on this subject. Its relegation of sugar and many other imports to the free list, and its inauguration of the attempt (since proved to be a great success) to establish the tin industry, were in full accord with the general character of the Act. Thus both parties went into the campaign of 1892 true to the logic of their respective positions on the then great question of the day. Of course, both could not be right. It is only fair to assume that both Mr. Cleveland and his party honestly believed that it was for the best interests of this country that the McKinley Act should be repealed, and the tariff readjusted on the lines of "for revenue only." It is inconceivable that a party or its candidates should deliberately set to work to wreck the industries of the country; but that such was the effect is one of the facts which admit of no discussion.

Jefferson Davis and his supporters of 1861 committed a crime. Mr. Cleveland and his party in 1892 committed a blunder. That blunder—or, to be more exact, that one of the three which we are now considering,—began to bear fruit so soon as it was known that the Democratic party had not only elected a President, as in 1884, but also had control, as it did not have in 1884 and never before since the war, of both Houses of Congress. If Mr. Cleveland had been elected, and had there been a Democratic House of Representatives alone, or a Democratic Senate alone, there would have been no uneasiness throughout the country. The country generally had no solicitude about Mr. Cleveland as a strictly administrative officer. As he and his party were unable, during his first term as President, to substitute for the tariff of 1883 either the "Horizontal Bill" of Mr. Morrison or the Mills Bill, so it would have been impossible to disturb the McKinley Act had either branch of Congress remained Republican. And, as a matter of fact, the capture of the United States Senate by the Democratic party was not only

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a surprise but an afterthought as well. With the machinery of legislation under Democratic control, the country expected, quite as a matter of course, a new tariff act in accordance with the National Democratic platform of 1892. This expectation was realized, not certainly as fully as Mr. Cleveland and the majority of his party had desired; but fully enough to produce, in its actual operations, the evil effects predicted by the Republicans during the campaign of the previous year.

It is impossible here to discuss exhaustively the effects of the reversal of this tariff policy; some of its general results only may be alluded to.

One of its marked effects has been to increase the goods and merchandise imported from abroad, and, at the same time, to decrease the quantity produced here and exported to foreign countries. To state this in another way: we have bought more and sold less. The figures showing this are readily obtainable, and present a striking refutation of the propriety of abandoning protection. For example: In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, we imported $93,000,000 worth more of foreign goods than we did in the year ending June 30, 1894. Our import account leaped in that one year from $275,000,000 to $368,000,000. This immense balance of $93,000,000 would not have been so significant had our exports of domestic products increased in like proportion. But they did not. On the contrary, they decreased almost as much as our imports increased. We exported of agricultural products alone $75,000,000 less than in the previous year. In 1894 we were under the full operation of the Gorman-Wilson tariff, which was the first legislative revenue act under the present Administration, and which turned the tide of progress into a flood of adversity. It does not require a vast deal of deep thinking to figure that, if one year we pay out $93,000,000 more for foreign products than we paid out the previous year, and during the same period receive $75,000,000 less for what we have sold abroad, we must be out of money on that account by the amount of these two items. Taking our imports and our agricultural exports alone, we change our balance to the wrong side of the ledger to the amount of $168,000,000. Money has by this policy been sent out of the country, to say nothing of the losses in other directions chargeable to its distress account. No country can prosper which burns its candle at both ends.

The Democratic party and Administration proclaimed the doctrine of a tariff "for revenue only," and finally passed a tariff act which has

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not yielded a sufficient revenue by many millions. The Republican party has not only maintained a consistent policy of protection toward all the varied industries of the United States; but it has proved, by the actual operation of that policy, intelligently applied, that it is the true policy of the Republic.

The second feature of the National Democratic platform of 1892—the substitution of State banks for National banks—was discussed quite freely during that campaign by the Republicans, who tried by all legitimate means to draw out their opponents on this subject, but with very little success. Nor did Mr. Cleveland in his letter of acceptance say anything definite about it. The plank itself, which was quite definite, was as follows:—

"We recommend that the prohibitory ten-per-cent tax on State Bank issues be repealed."

Numerous bills had, prior to that time, been introduced in Congress for such repeal, but they had never reached any definite vote. No bill of that kind ever had the slightest chance of passing either branch of Congress. However, early in Mr. Cleveland's Administration, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, made a recommendation to Congress, which admitted of no other interpretation than this: If the free-silver people of the South will cease their demand for free silver, the Administration will help them to restore the State banking system, under certain governmental restrictions.

It is undoubtedly true that much of the free-silver sentiment of the South—and perhaps of the West, except in strictly mining States—is directly due to an eagerness to increase the volume of money, silver or paper. But it was very soon evident that this suggestion of Secretary Carlisle's was not favorably received; in fact it was speedily dropped, and has not since been renewed. Judging from the indications on the eve of the assembling of the National Democratic Convention of 1896, there will be no repetition of that particular plank of the platform of 1892; at least, there is no discussion which would suggest anything of that kind;—nor, for that matter, was there any in 1892. It came into the platform as noiselessly as the gliding of a serpent. It is only fair to say, that that blunder, egregious as it was, proved harmless. Had it actually been carried out, the effect would have been appalling, as every thoughtful person must know who can recall the effect of the "wild-cat" money, which was due to the blunder of the same party made long before the war for the Union, and which

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survived until it was destroyed, root and branch, by that Republican "prohibitory ten-per-cent tax."

The third blunder of Democracy, which, as the modern phrase goes, was a "straddle," has served to breed bitter discord within the party itself. From a political point of view, it was thought at the time to be very sagacious. Hardly, however, had the party "come into its kingdom," when a factional animosity sprang up, which, in its virulence, recalled the famous faction fights during the Buchanan Administration. No sooner had the distribution of national patronage in its early stages been accomplished than this internal struggle in the Democratic party began; and it has been growing more and more intense ever since. It may well be doubted if any of those who were responsible for that "straddle" now think it was a wise political measure. In the political history of the United States it has already been written down as one of the greatest blunders. Almost from the assembling of the Fifty-third Congress down to the adjournment of the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, the Democratic party was, on this question, a conspicuous illustration of "a house divided against itself." But that blunder, while similar to the second one, produced no legislation; unlike that one, it provoked an agitation which added incalculably to the distress of the country. The spectacle presented challenged the attention of the entire financial world. All Europe, as well as our own country, saw the President of the United States in a hand-to-hand battle with a large majority of the party which elected him to prevent the debasement of our money. In this contest of the coins, the Republican party had to come to the rescue. It was upon the Republican party, supported by a small contingent of Democrats from the seaboard States north of the Potomac, that devolved the responsibility of maintaining the present gold standard. Sound money triumphed over Democracy. It is true that in this great struggle the Democratic majority had the alliance of the few Populists in Congress and a very small number of Republicans, mostly from States directly interested in silver as a product. The great body of the silver faction, however, was drawn directly from the Democratic party; and it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell that if the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 should triumph this year at the polls, with its consequences too appalling to contemplate, the responsibility therefor will be upon the Democratic party.

But the great blunders foreshadowed in the platform on which Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1892 do not by any means exhaust the

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list of the blunders of the Democratic party and of the present Administration. Indeed, the very first blunder, in point of time, was not in any way suggested by the party platform; and it is only just to the Democratic party to state that the responsibility for it is purely personal. For reasons of his own, without party consultation, and through the agency of "Paramount" Blount, Mr. Cleveland saw fit to undertake the restoration of Queen Liliuokalani. The United States flag, raised by a liberty-loving American was ordered to be hauled down by Mr. Cleveland's commissioner. The disgraceful spectacle was seen by the civilized world of a representative, moral, humane, progressive, Republican Government seeking to reestablish a monarch, whose conduct had been so notorious as to forfeit her rights to the throne, and had compelled an outraged people to depose her. There was pending in the United States Senate, at the time of Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, a treaty of annexation, negotiated between the United States of America and the Hawaiian Republic. Almost the first official act of Mr. Cleveland was to recall this treaty. This course did not of itself excite public apprehension, or call for criticism. It was felt at the time that, while it might have been more expedient for Mr. Cleveland to allow the negotiations, then nearly completed, to proceed without the assumption of the responsibility on his part, yet, if he desired to examine its provisions more carefully, it was his privilege to do so. His real object was not suspected until later. For nearly a year there was more or less public fear, bordering on certainty, that it was Mr. Cleveland's purpose to restore to power a corrupt monarchy, and by so doing forcibly to destroy a constitutional government modelled upon our own. Happily this blunder, which would have been nothing short of a crime, was prevented, although Secretary Gresham reported, November 10, 1893, directly in favor of restoring the fallen monarchy.

Mr. Cleveland's Hawaiian policy was in direct violation of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine; for, instead of aiding and protecting Hawaii and its Republican constitution, he proposed to abandon both to the evils of the notorious representative of a debased monarchy. The doctrine of protection held by the Republican party extends to the industries of the United States, and to the entire Western Hemisphere with respect to the struggles of its peoples for self-government. That is the essential spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, to which the Republican party has always been true, and which the President, in that instance, violated. We protect our territorial autonomy by decreeing that no European power shall extend its sovereignty on American soil.

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If ever it happens that the era of oppression and bloodshed shall cease in Cuba, and that the United States shall possess, either peaceably or otherwise, that rich gem of the West Indies which pays its millions annually in tribute to Spain, it will be because we are bound to protect the interests of the United States by Ocean and Gulf wherever those interests develop themselves. We absorbed the Louisiana Territory, Florida, and California to prevent their occupation by other nations, and thus build up our defences and protect ourselves. Slavery was abolished, and the civil war was fought, not for conquest, but in defence of the Great Republic of the United States in its adherence to the principles of liberty and humanity.

The Republican party believes in protection, because it brings to and secures to the common people larger prosperity and increased happiness. Under that policy we have grown rich and powerful, and have become the most prosperous people on earth.

The present Chief Executive, more notably probably than any other President this country has ever known, has been consistently opposed to the idea of a protective tariff. Hence it is that the question of protection has for the past two campaigns been more generally and thoroughly discussed than ever before in our history. Such discussion, with the object-lesson in view which the people have so severely paid for in the panic which followed the accession of Mr. Cleveland and his party to power, and the hard times and distress which have continued ever since, have, to a large extent, settled the tariff question. We shall hear no more denunciation in National Democratic platforms of a protective tariff as "unconstitutional," a "robbery," and so on.

If President Cleveland, as the trustee of a high estate, were to be called upon to give an account of his stewardship and that of his associates during the past three years, what could he truthfully report? He certainly would be compelled to say that he found that the business of the country had been excellent during the administration of his predecessor, President Harrison; that Mr. Harrison had paid out of the revenues of the Government about $250,000,000 upon the public debt during his four-years' conduct of affairs, and had, upon retiring, left in the United States Treasury a large surplus of cash, in addition to $100,000,000 of gold reserve. Mr. Cleveland would be compelled to answer further, that the tariff law of 1890, popularly known as the McKinley Act, had greatly aided in producing prosperity in all branches of industry and commerce in the United States, and in giving steady work and good wages to the American laborer. In jus-

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tice to truth, however, he would feel compelled to say that our large prosperity in America had materially interfered with our friends in Great Britain and elsewhere. He would be forced to admit that our tariff act of 1890 had brought serious injury to the trade of Birmingham, Leeds, and Liverpool. But he would be so impressed by his fixed notion against a tariff law framed on protection lines that he would not willingly consent that such law should remain upon our statute books.

Mr. Cleveland, if asked what he had done to change this condition, would have to reply that he had urged the legislative branch of the Government to return to the doctrine of free trade or a tariff for "revenue only," and that this had been done in part, though not in a manner nor to an extent that was satisfactory to him; but that it was the best [or the worst?] that could be done. He would have to confess that the United States Treasury had been empty since the legislation on the line of his theories and the Administration following that legislation. He could not say that our people had done so much or so profitable business as when Mr. Harrison was President. And he would in truth have to state that, to meet the changed conditions, his Administration had found it desirale to float a few hundred millions of bonds, which he had arranged might be sold for gold as soon as possible. The result of this new bond issue, he would be compelled to say, had been that the national indebtedness of the United States had increased more than two hundred millions. Mr. Cleveland would, no doubt, admit that he had consented to award suitable commissions to the patriotic men who had saved the United States Treasury from bankruptcy—such commissions not having amounted to more, perhaps, than $10,000,000. It is likely that the same persons would again aid Mr. Cleveland's Administration upon similar easy terms in maintaining the national credit.

I have had several opportunities of becoming acquainted with the services of Governor McKinley, both as a public official and as a private citizen. Without pretending to express more than my own personal views regarding his thorough training in Congress, his experience as a national legislator, his familiarity with the leading questions of the day, and his notably winning personality, I have great faith that, as the Chief Executive, he will prove himself to be eminently worthy and well qualified to discharge his onerous duties.

Governor McKinley, if elected President,—and I confidently believe he will be,—should be cordially supported by a Congress committed

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to a protective policy and in favor of sound money. Under such auspices there can be no doubt as to the speedy and substantial revival of the general business of the country. Trade and commerce would at once recuperate. Even the Republican National nomination at St. Louis has already been in a measure productive of the restoration of public confidence in several sections of the United States; and it is highly probable that, when our national industrial conditions are reestablished, we shall go forward without interruption or change in any material respect for many years to come.

The people of the United States, more than any other people in the world, have grown into the idea of government by discussion. Constitutional government is the outgrowth of thought and discussion. Our country has furnished the ideal habitat for the growth and development of Republicanism. The first trial of Republican government was made here in 1776. Its continuance until 1789 was tentative and experimental. The Confederation was but a trial. A better system was needed, and was soon established, by the framing of the National Constitution,—the embodiment of wisdom and patriotism, our guide in all trials and struggles past, present, and to come, and the sure haven of shelter and safety in every storm, and certain defence in every danger.

Fidelity to the Constitution, to liberty, to the national honor, to honest money, to the great doctrine of protection—union, liberty, national honor, home industry, a circulating medium for all the people, equal to the best in the world,—these are the watchwords of the Republicans, the embodiment of the party's faith, and the foundation of our national growth and prosperity. The struggle for the Union and liberty has passed into history. Our national honor has been painfully involved and frightfully jeopardized during the present Administration. Home industry has been paralyzed, idleness enforced, and the Treasury bankrupted by the folly of misguided Democracy since the party last came into power. The remedy lies in the people again entrusting the conduct of affairs to the control of the Republican party, upon a platform of sound money and reasonable protection to American industries and labor,—when prosperity will return.

S. M. Cullom.

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WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS FOR.

THE national political campaign which is about to open will be unique in the history of party contests, and will differ essentially from any of the campaigns which have been participated in by the present generation. Heretofore voters have acted with a particular party because they have been brought up from childhood in the particular political faith which it professes, have long been in the habit of giving it their allegiance, and have been actuated largely by their pride in securing a party triumph. Or, where there have been great national patriotic questions confronting the people, as in the case of a foreign war, a domestic insurrection, or an effort to destroy the institution of slavery, the people have been led to act with the party which seemed to be manifesting the most patriotic spirit.

But the case is different now. At present there are no great questions of emotional patriotism at issue, and the people will vote with the party which they believe will confer the greatest benefits upon their own material interests. It will be essentially a business campaign. Americans, with the experiences they have gone through recently, are not likely to be deceived by the illogical and pernicious reasoning of demagogues whose only chance of success is to play upon popular ignorance. The great majority of the voters will enter the contest with the object of redeeming the nation from the humiliating condition into which it has been plunged by the lack of statesmanship which has been manifested in the national councils during the last three years and a half. Four years ago our credit was above reproach, our factories were running full time, nearly all our wage-earners had employment, wages were remunerative, farm products brought good prices; and the country could pride itself upon a firm foreign policy, conducted by statesmen who could not be overreached by the trained diplomatists of Europe. A sense of peace, happiness, and prosperity almost without parallel in American history pervaded the land. It seemed like the realization of the promises made by the protectionists in the Henry Clay campaign, "Two dollars a day and roast beef."

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But the masses of the people have now waked up to the fact that four years ago they followed blind guides. They were led astray by false signals which were as fatal as the wreckers' lights hoisted on a storm-beaten coast to lure innocent mariners to certain destruction. The promises given them by irresponsible politicians were made to the ear only to be broken to the hope. Panic has followed prosperity; the nation has been changed from a debt-paying to a debt-making country; 64 per cent of our skilled mechanics, as nearly as can be ascertained, have been thrown out of employment; calamity has rested upon the land until patience has been exhausted, courage has failed, and the financial and industrial elements despair of relief, unless it come from a radical change in our national policy to be brought about by an Administration opposite in character to that under which the present burdens have been accumulating until they are intolerable.

Popular feeling has become intensified by reason of the fact that a change in the Executive department of the Government can be effected only once in four years. In this respect our Government differs widely from the republics and limited monarchies of Europe. With them a complete change in the ministry can be brought about at any time by a vote of want of confidence in the popular branch of the national legislative body. In this country, no matter to what extent the Administration opposes the popular sentiment, there is no means of effecting a change in the Executive branch of the Government before legal expiry of time except by the one extreme and unusual measure of the removal of the President by impeachment. The people, therefore, fully realize that their votes now are going to decide future methods of national policy which will have an immensely important bearing upon their business interests during the entire four years which are to follow.

The leaders of the Republican party are fully aware that the highest achievement of statesmanship is to afford the people the means of employment. When this is accomplished all other benefits follow: there are then ample sources of revenue, the wealth of the country steadily increases, the public credit is beyond attack, the people are happy and contented, the masses are not brooding over their misfortunes, and there is a reign of prosperity which is always the best cure for financial heresies and Utopian schemes born of suffering and discontent. Idleness creates more trouble in this country than any other evil; for here labor is dignified and occupation is a badge of manhood, while idleness breeds discontent and degrades the individual even in his own estimation. When one inquires into a man's status in Amer-

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ica one does not ask *who* he is, but *what* he is. The very question presupposes that he, as an American citizen, performs labor, whether it be with the hand or with the brain. Here we want no drones in the hive, for Americans recognize that all wealth is the product of toil, that civilization itself is the crown of labor, that happiness comes solely from work, and that only the busy have no time for tears.

The Republican party makes an irresistible appeal to the voters in this campaign by its adoption of a platform which aims to increase the means of employment. It does not propose to intensify the paternal character of the Government, or to project public works merely for the purpose of employing labor and converting the country into an eleemosynary institution; but it aims to carry out a national policy founded upon many years of experience,—a policy which will increase the means of helping the people to help themselves. The Republican party proposes to enact a tariff law which will not only secure the great desideratum of sufficient revenue to the Government, but will afford ample protection to American industries and prevent an attempt to subject our wage-earners to disastrous competition with the pauper labor of Europe. In increasing the purchasing power of the masses of our people, by securing for them steady employment and fair wages, an ample home market will be secured for the products of the soil and of the factory. By reenacting reciprocity measures it is believed that trade with other nations will be so stimulated that our foreign market will also be largely increased.

The great masses of the people have been studying these economic questions more intelligently than ever before, and have in most cases reached a practical understanding of them. When told that under free trade they can purchase some articles of consumption cheaper, the prompt answer is that it matters very little how cheap an article may be if they cannot find work to make any money with which to purchase it at any price. If they are told that the financial question is the most important, they will reply that they want, of course, a dollar of the highest value possible, but that their first object is to get an opportunity to earn a dollar, and they will take their chances as to its value if they can once get it in their pockets.

All our voters realize that revenue must be raised for diverse and necessary purposes,—for paying current expenses, defending our unprotected seacoast, completing our projected navy, and aiding in the very important national work of constructing an interoceanic canal. We can raise this revenue only by means of annoying and unequal stamp

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duties, by taxing the poor man's beer, by levying a direct tax upon the individual and pursuing him with an expensive army of tax-gatherers; or by means of a properly-adjusted tariff collected through our custom-houses. These custom-houses are already built and manned, and it costs but little more to collect one hundred million than fifty million dollars. The system bears so lightly upon the public convenience, and the duties are collected so easily, that the masses of the people scarcely stop to ask how it is done. At the same time it brings about that protection to American industries which the Republican party believes is absolutely essential to the prosperity of the nation. The result of the approaching election will affect so directly the material interests of every citizen, that it seems certain this year that party uniforms will be worn lightly and that party lines will be largely obliterated. It will be a year in which the Republican party may expect to lose few deserters and gain many recruits. While Democrats are always strong in their party allegiance, it must be remembered that among them there is a very large class of patriotic and public-spirited men whose pride in the honor and prosperity of the country rises above all partisanship. These may follow their party to the verge of the precipice, but they will refuse to leap with it into the chasm below. All signs point to the belief that in this era of independent voting this class of Democrats will be found ranged on the side of sustaining the national credit, by casting their ballots against the free and unlimited coinage of silver and in support of an honest gold standard; while they will also support such tariff measures as may be reasonable and just, and so framed that the specific may be substituted for the *ad valorem* duties. When this substitution is effected, duties may be collected with certainty, and the pernicious practice of undervaluing goods—which puts a premium on commercial rascality—may be corrected.

Such indications lead to the belief that, with the large class of voters who are wage-earners, the tariff will be deemed more important than the financial question, though the question of honest money of full value will make a powerful appeal to every working man. When he studies the subject he will not favor a system which would give him for his work a silver dollar worth only fifty cents,—while his active competitor, the British workman, is paid in a dollar worth one hundred cents,—particularly when it is coupled with a policy which will enable the articles made by his British competitor to be sent here for sale, and necessitate the exporting of American gold to pay for them.

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Of course the immense importance of the financial question cannot be overlooked by any one. The financial plank of the Republican party will commend itself favorably to business men, professional men, cultivators of the soil, salaried employees, and wage-earners alike, because it will prevent us from falling to the condition of the second-class powers which are now on a silver basis, make this country the equal of the leading commercial nations of the world, raise the credit of the Government, inspire investors with increased confidence in our securities, and attract foreign capital for the use of our people at low rates of interest. The doubts entertained as to the decision of the people of the United States regarding the money standard have already wrought us incalculable injury. Nothing has reflected greater credit upon the Republican party during the present financial crisis than its unequivocal and almost unanimous declaration, in its national convention, for an honest gold standard. Josh Billings once said, "If you are right you cannot be too radical; if you are wrong you cannot be too conservative." The Republican party has been strong enough in its conviction of right this year to afford to be decidedly radical.

The Democratic party platform has declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and for a tariff so low that it will afford no protection to American industries, but will, like the existing tariff law of that party, be even insufficient to meet the expenses of the Government. The two platforms present a striking difference. They are as opposite as the poles, as wide apart as the antipodes. On the one side are free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, free trade, and a probable deficit; on the other, an honest gold standard,—with a determination to keep all silver and paper currency upon a parity with gold,—ample protection to American industries, and sufficient revenue. The case will be fully argued during the campaign and submitted in November for decision to the highest tribunal known to us—the American people. They are always to be trusted when the case is placed fairly before them, and there is a general belief that their verdict will be in favor of upholding the credit, the prosperity, and the honor of the country.

HORACE PORTER.

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HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

THE child of genius comes unheralded, but when recognition is won, his ancestry, his environment, and all that helped to make him are studied to see what went to the shaping of his destiny. When Harriet Beecher Stowe had burst upon the world as the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," it seemed as if she had come out of the unknown, but to-day in tracing her parentage and her surroundings one finds that her personality and power were the fruit of rare conditions. It is said that seven generations of Puritan clergymen contributed to the making of Emerson, and it was to the same number of Puritan ancestors that Mrs. Stowe owed the forces that entered into her life. Born in 1811 in a secluded New England county seat, the daughter of one of the most virile and independent of the Puritan clergy, the child of a mother who had the sensitiveness and the religious spirit of an unusual womanhood, she grew up under influences that nurtured all her gifts. Inheriting from both parents the qualities in which each was strongest, growing up in a home where an independent and free intellectual and religious atmosphere was encouraged and in a village where the best social and educational life was maintained, she drank in to the full the influences which shaped and controlled her life. Such was the force of her environment that at the age of twelve she had written a school composition on "The Immortality of the Soul," unknown to her father, who eagerly inquired who wrote it, after it was read in public. What a training school was that in which Edward, Henry Ward, Charles, and Catherine Beecher were pitted against Dr. Lyman Beecher in daily discussions that took up any subject in the wide universe! A little later this sensitive girl was transferred to Hartford to be both teacher and pupil in a school which Catherine had started for the education of young women. The fame of that school went far and wide, and it was one of the first efforts to give girls the higher education in New England. No pupil was more apt or got more out of it than Harriet Beecher, and no teacher superior to Catherine could then have been found. It was long before Mary Lyon had begun her work at South Hadley, and

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when the great women of New England stood apart and alone. As an educator Catherine Beecher was a pioneer of her time.

Under a home and school like these Harriet Beecher grew to womanhood, gathering into her life the best that the country and the city could give: but another element entered into her life. She had the free range in her girlhood of the homes of New England people, and, quick to note everything that went on and able to remember what was said, she caught the vernacular and made it her own, thus storing away in her memory unconsciously the materials which could be used in later years. All this time her mind and heart were reaching out freely into our New England life and learning how to use what they came in contact with. It was simply the following of a natural growth, but it was a training which was destined to bear the largest fruit in the near future. Poverty also came to her aid. She had a natural gift for writing, and it was to increase her resources that she began to contribute to the annuals and magazines of the day. Too young to enter upon any large work, she began to make sketches of what she had seen, and it was by the aid of these that she became known as one of the younger writers of the day. It was her struggle with poverty, a condition not improved by her marriage to Prof. Stowe, that developed the impulse to write until it grew to be a passion and a source of power. It was also due to this fact that she began to work out toward larger things. In 1832 Dr. Beecher became President of the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati and took his family to that place. This was their first actual meeting with American slavery. Harriet had only to cross the river into Kentucky to come into personal contact with the negroes of the South. As early as 1833, there began in the North the stir of an effort for the freedom of the slave, and here on the border-land between the North and the South she was trained for the next seventeen years to know and to feel what the institution meant. Long before the Fugitive-Slave Law was enacted, she had assisted in the "underground" railroad by which slaves were helped to their freedom, and in the school which her sister and she herself had established she had colored children as pupils. All the years of her earlier womanhood were spent in an atmosphere that was bristling with opposition to slavery and yet constantly permeated with its influence. No training school could have been devised in which a sensitive and religious mind could have been better educated for a great achievement.

In 1836 Harriet Beecher was married, and for the next dozen years,

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in trying to drive poverty out of her own home and in meeting an evil that was growing larger and larger, she found herself pondering through her religious nature the problem of slavery. It was a time when throughout the North the clergy and the people never prayed but they petitioned for the freedom of the slave, and that moral sentiment which refused to be put down was growing stronger day by day. Garrison, Phillips, Whittier, Parker, Horace Mann, and countless others were arousing public feeling against slavery, and Webster, the pride of New England, was endeavoring to hold the Union together by conciliating the slave power. On each side the temper was up, and yet it seemed as if nothing could be done. It was as when a storm is brewing, and the silence is profound. The lives of people were surcharged with feeling, and yet no one spoke. Into the very soul of a sensitive woman in Cincinnati had entered the sword of this conflict. She knew more at that moment about slavery than any other American. Her brother Edward wrote to her later, "Now, Hattie, if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is." At this time the Stowes had removed to Brunswick, in Maine, and when Mrs. Stowe had read these words, she rose from her chair crushing the letter in her hand and, with an expression on her face that stamped itself on the mind of her child, said: "I will write something. I will if I live." This was the origin of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but it was not the writing of the work. This was a task imposed by a sense of duty upon a woman who was struggling to help her husband to make both ends meet, and who without assistance was trying to earn something with her pen and to take care of a family of young children. The duties of home were great, but the duty of the hour was supreme. She rose to the demands made upon her, and with sobs and convulsions, moved by an irresistible power, wrote the sketch of the death of *Uncle Tom*. It was read to her little boys to test its merit. They wept aloud, and Mrs. Stowe never failed from June, 1851, till April, 1852, the time when she was writing this story, to read the chapters to her family before they were sent off. At odd moments, in the kitchen, in the hours of the night, whenever she could escape from other duties, she put on paper what was going on in her mind, and the work grew as if it were written by an invisible power. She could not stop as it went on, and it mastered her so completely that she had strength for it when she could do nothing else. All the culture of her earlier years went into it, but was kept under by the terrible tragedy which she was unfolding.

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All great works have been written under the dominant sense of a higher power. The writer has been impelled to go forward, and the natural powers have been lifted to an unwonted plane. They have been the fruit of those who have lived out of themselves, and who amid sorrow and trial have seen Him who is invisible. It was so with Mrs. Stowe. Self had been so put down and the cause she had at heart was so supreme that when the story was completed and she returned to her former self, she was despondent and could find no rest. It was a bold step in 1852 to publish such a story. Less than two years before, Daniel Webster had in his famous 7th of March Speech attempted a compromise, and the slave power was triumphant. Her publisher had the courage of youth behind him, and the work was brought out with no idea of its success. What it did is known to all men. It was the parting of the ways between the North and the South. It revealed for the first time to the American people what slavery was, and its fairness to the South gained it a reading on the other side; but this was local influence. It went beyond us, beyond the English race, wherever people read and think, and it caused the whole world to demand that the American slave should be free. It was like the appearance of the hand of God in the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. Men saw that the end had come, and though it was a dozen years before Lincoln penned his famous document of Emancipation, the potency of that event was in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

To Mrs. Stowe the interest raised by this work was a surprise, and yet it was but the outcome of such a consecration of herself that no other result could have been anticipated. Its pathos, its wit, its humor, and its terrible fidelity to truth were an inspiration and an argument that no one could resist, and from the Queen of England who read it aloud to the royal family to the humblest youth in an American village the book made but one appeal. During the civil war Queen Victoria never consented to the recognition of the South, and, though she liked "Dred" as a story better than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the royal mind was set like a flint against American slavery. While no one should underestimate the great services of men like Garrison and Phillips and Parker and Sumner, who cast their fortunes into the effort to free the slave, it is the truth to say that all their efforts were but a drop in the bucket compared with the stir and power that were in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Never in human history has a work devoted to a great cause had such an instantaneous effect. Byron came down to breakfast one morning and found himself famous, and Mrs. Stowe,

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hoping that the sale of her story might relieve her poverty, found herself in receipt of $10,000 within four months from the time of its publication, and the most famous woman living. It was enough to turn the head of any one to meet with this success, but it had been written in her heart's blood, and she felt, as Prof. Morse felt when he had discovered the telegraph, that she was an instrument in the hands of God. It was here that the greatness of the woman was to be seen. It made no difference with her that royalty sat at her feet or that the men and women of letters everywhere paid her attention. In all, she received for "Uncle Tom's Cabin" about $40,000, and had she been able to avail herself of English and foreign copyrights she might have been one of the richest women living. The right of dramatization would alone have brought her a fortune, to say nothing of what the story itself would have done; but this was not to be, and it is a painful fact that she leaves her family to-day in comparative poverty.

The success of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was largely due to the time and occasion of its publication, but read to-day when it has done its work it loses none of its power over the mind and heart. "Dred," which was its complement, never had the same success, though by many it was thought to be the superior work. When the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published, it confirmed what was evident enough before, that the story was not the fruit of the author's imagination but the result of a passionate brooding over facts until they had been baptized with power. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a work less of the imagination than of the mind and heart and memory fused into one, but the effect was the same as if it were the fruit of the imagination alone, and the moral power which went into that work and lifted it to the highest plane was immense. In the character of *Uncle Tom*, and wherever it was possible, Mrs. Stowe brought the truth home to the reader with wonderful effect. The deacons in the New England churches, who read this story by stealth, were compelled to give it to their sons and daughters, and for the time the whole world was convulsed. It was its moral power enforced by a brilliant imagination that did it, and if Mrs. Stowe never again reached the same height in her writing, it was because she had never afterward the same moral force behind her.

It was inevitable after this unparalleled success that she should be a woman of letters, but she had exhausted the field in which she had triumphed. She had to feel her way in another direction, and a province was untouched which she could occupy. From her earliest

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childhood she had taken into her sensitive being the atmosphere of New England, its theology, its traditions, its romance, its poetry, its unique development of character, and its noble ideas, and though Hawthorne and Whittier and Sylvester Judd had occupied the field before her, she soon made it her own. The first effort was "The Minister's Wooing," in which she undertook to portray New England life at the beginning of this century, taking the New England theology for her text and applying it with wonderful force to the details of common life. Even here a moral purpose was behind her writing, and she sought to show how the light of the Christian faith could be thrown upon a statement of belief which held that the impenitent were totally lost. She was the first to break the spell of a theology which had wrought terrible mischief with sensitive minds and which is to-day responsible for the indifference of multitudes. Written at Andover, "The Minister's Wooing" contained the keynote of the later Andover movement and led the way to the larger hope. If this is the significance of this book to-day, it is to be valued also as a delineation of New England society at the beginning of this century. It is refreshing to read it in comparison with the highly-seasoned fiction of the hour. It holds and entertains the reader by its truth to life, and yet the sensational features of the modern story are entirely wanting. In the character of *Candace* Mrs. Stowe gives her solution of a religious problem, and in the person of *Mrs. Marvyn* one sees what the effect of the teaching of eternal punishment was upon a sensitive and devout mind. This novel shows a conscious effort on the part of Mrs. Stowe to write up to the level of her great reputation. She would have been more than human had she not betrayed this weakness, and it is the only one of her later writings in which it appears.

In "Oldtown Folks," which was her next most popular work, she broke away from the consciousness of authorship and allowed her natural genius to have control. Here she was at home and on familiar ground, and in an old Massachusetts town she found all the material of human life with which she could deal. South Natick had been the home of her husband, and in making the stories of *Sam Lawson* her own, and imparting to them her own wit and power, she reached the happiest and freest expression of her genius. Without trammels, without a distinct moral purpose, but simply keeping to the truth of things and using her inimitable knowledge of the country dialect, she created a conception of New England life which had never been touched by any other writer. Hawthorne had imparted to an earlier period the

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severity and the power of his own genius, and Rose Terry Cooke and Sarah Orne Jewett have through their short stories presented some of the homelier characteristics of New England; but Mrs. Stowe entered the field with a mastery of every detail, and the fact that "Oldtown Folks" is in its fortieth edition shows that the people have accepted this work as the best study of Puritan character that has ever been made. What "George Eliot" attempted in "Adam Bede," "The Mill on the Floss," and "Silas Marner," Mrs. Stowe accomplished in "Oldtown Folks," "Fireside Stories," and "The Pearl of Orr's Island." The same close study of local character, the same recognition of the influence of the religious life, and the same play of mother wit are found in both writers, and while "Middlemarch" is the greater achievement of the one and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is the best work of the other, the almost universal verdict is that "George Eliot" never surpassed "Adam Bede" and that Harriet Beecher Stowe never did anything better than "Oldtown Folks."

There is a vast difference between what Mrs. Stowe wrote concerning slavery and what she did for New England. The one work was undertaken at the call of duty and was completed under a sense of sealed orders; the other was the turning to a field where the mind and heart were free in their movement and there was no restraint. The artistic sense in both directions was never wanting, but Mrs. Stowe wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" because she had to, and her sketches of New England life were enjoyed as a recreation: she was a natural story-teller. The service which she rendered to freedom was a great episode in her career, but when she was delineating New England character she was on her native heath and felt that the kingdom was her own. In "Uncle Tom's Cabin" she is nerved up to a point where all her powers are held in submission to a great purpose, but in dealing with New England life she forgot herself in the enjoyment of her work, and this is why it has held the interest of readers. No one has caught to the same degree the religious atmosphere of the older days or done ampler justice to the men and women who felt its influence, but upon occasion the homely wit and shrewd native sense of the people are brought out with a keen relish, and the author basks in the sunshine of her work. Here her personality found expression, and here she came as near to the people, though in a different sense, as she did when she presented the lights and shadows of slavery.

Much of Mrs. Stowe's later work was written at the call of others and has in it entertainment but not power. To this criticism her

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"Religious Poems" are an exception. They are the highest expression of her spiritual life, and there are no writings of our generation that so nearly convey the same spirit as is found in the higher range of Whittier's work. The same mystical outreach of faith, the same wonderful grasp of unspoken truth, the same feeling after God if haply one may find Him, is found in both these writers, and Mrs. Stowe's hymn entitled "The Other World" was sung at her funeral service as the truest expression of her highest life. She had, perhaps more than any other member of her gifted family, the compulsions of a religious nature. Her brother Edward could enter into the "Conflict of Ages," Henry Ward could sparkle in brief fragments of beautiful thought, Charles has ventured into fresh lines of spiritual teaching, Thomas has been a centre of spiritual power, Catherine was a pioneer in the higher education of women, and Isabella Beecher Hooker is one of our leaders in social reform; but Mrs. Stowe, without being the leader in any great movement, entered into a field where she had the mastery of moral forces, and in her work for the slave and for her forefathers she has left the marks of her power.

In this analysis of what went to the making of this great writer, attention has been drawn to what she inherited from her parents, what entered into her education, what she drew from the life around her, and what worked itself out through her mind and heart. In few instances have personal and social forces wrought with equal power and harmony in the making of a strong and noble life. Mrs. Stowe had within her reach every means that could impart strength and character to her mind and soul, and the discipline of poverty and sorrow, both of which she knew to the dregs of the cup, was no small part in the making of her. With all her achievements for humanity and for our New England life, from which I would detract nothing, there is in the total impression of her life a completeness of womanhood, a filling out of the wholeness of one's being, which is more than her fame, more than her genius, and which is at the end of life her chief distinction. Without exemption from the common weaknesses of our nature, she forgot herself in her work and in her last years grew in beauty of character to the very end. Perhaps her chief distinction may be said to be in the consecration of her gifts to the very highest things and in the effort which ran through her whole life to be a true disciple of Jesus Christ. *Requiescat in pace!*

JULIUS H. WARD.

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MODERN ARCHÆOLOGY: RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.—II.

In a first article on this subject, which appeared in these pages last May, after some preliminary remarks on the progress of the science of archæology during recent times, the training and the qualifications necessary for the exploration of ancient sites were discussed; and, finally, the excavations carried on in Greece proper were considered, beginning with those researches which led to the discovery, on the rocky eminences of Mycenæ and Tiryns, of evidence pointing to the existence of a civilization much earlier than any of which Greek history speaks.

Between the remains of that civilization and the later classic art of Greece a connecting epoch of gradual development was assumed to have intervened; but of its precise character and tendency there existed but meagre testimony: this more especially as regards the steps by which Attic art attained to its full expansion—to that exuberance of perfection and beauty which transfixes us in wonderment and admiration. Of the early efforts of this school much less was revealed to us—either by ancient authors or through extant remains—than of the development of art in those centres which were subsequently overshadowed by the glories of Athens. Lucian, in his "Rhetorical Precepts," alludes to early Attic sculpture as rigid, labored, and sharply outlined; and the name of Endoeus occurs in the middle of the sixth century as that of a pupil of the mythical Dædalus. Beyond such indications, however, little was positively known of the growth of Athenian art.

This missing link also was destined to be discovered by the pick-axe of the excavator, and that on another Acropolis—on the immortal rock to which this generic name is specially applied, as to the most renowned of the several fortified eminences rising sentinel-like over many an ancient site in Greece. The Acropolis of Athens symbolizes in itself the history not only of that city but of the whole of Greece; and the successive transformations of its ground plan and outward aspect are but a record of the vicissitudes which the country experi-

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enced. It served from time immemorial both as a citadel and a sanctuary, and in its double capacity had to submit to successive assaults of racial enmity and religious fanaticism. Time and the elements proved less inclement than the devastations wrought by man. Of these the most memorable are the first one which history records, and a later one—that which is most deplored by humanity at large. When the Persians overran Attica (B. C. 480) previous to their discomfiture at Salamis, they sacked, burnt, and razed to the ground everything which then stood upon the Acropolis; only portions of its Pelasgic outer walls remained, and survive to this day from prehistoric times. The Periclean reconstruction of the great sanctuary proved as remarkable for its solidity as it was unequalled in beauty. The Parthenon stood to all intents and purposes perfect and entire up to the year 1687, when the Venetians, who under Count Königsmark besieged the Acropolis, deliberately bombarded the temple, knowing it then to have served as a powder magazine to the Turkish garrison. The explosion which occurred on the evening of September 26 is justly regarded as the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the interests of art; and the devastation of the noble ruin was consummated when Lord Elgin carried away, with other remains, the sculptures of Phidias.

But what had been the fate of the earlier buildings ravaged by the Persians? Ancient writers are silent on this point; and no one in modern times so much as assumed to seek their traces on a site so completely possessed and swayed by the brilliancy of its later glories. These absorbed the thoughts of the scholar and claimed the undivided attention of the artist. The remnants of all other times were deemed a desecration of the hallowed spot. It was reserved for the perseverance and zeal of the excavator to add to the value of Phidian art by bringing to light its own parent stock. All through the Roman, Byzantine, Frank, and Turkish times the Acropolis served as a citadel, while the Parthenon itself had been converted first into a church and then into a mosque. The Erechtheion, the Pinakotheka, the Propylæa, were all transformed into dwelling-houses, the first of these buildings having been occupied at one time by the harem of a pasha. A whole quarter of nondescript structures, built on the Acropolis partly out of various ancient fragments and partly with lath and plaster, housed, prior to the war of independence, the entire official Turkish population of Athens. It was only when the country was freed from the Turks that the sacred hill recovered its dignity as the shrine of art and

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archæology. The ancient temples were gradually freed from the interpolations which disfigured them, and the Turkish hovels and shanties were swept away. The last of these still served, in the early 'sixties, as a storehouse for such ancient fragments as have since found a permanent home in the special museum built on the lower ground of the rocky plateau.

The first clearing rendered possible an accurate study of the topography of the Acropolis and its temples; and this pursuit absorbed for a long time the attention of archæologists as well as the funds which the Greek government could devote to the work. In 1853, M. Beulé, a member of the French school at Athens, discovered under the Turkish bastions the gate to the Propylæa which bears his name; and since then every nook and corner of the sacred enclosure has been explored, measured, and surveyed. Even mediæval and later structures have been demolished in quest of ancient fragments. But no one had yet thought of excavating the very soil of the Acropolis. The works, however, which had been carried on during many years in connection with the exploration of its surface, brought to light, by a mere chance, certain pieces of sculpture of a remarkable type. In 1863 the removal of some débris around the foundations of the northern wall of the Erechtheion, revealed a headless, seated statue of Athena; and in the following year the truncated statue of a man bearing a calf on his shoulders (now known as the Moschophoros) was unearthed in an opposite portion of the plateau. These and some other fragments, which successively cropped up in similar circumstances, were of a type so distinct from the sculpture generally associated with the Acropolis that they pointed to the existence of an earlier school and at the same time indicated the probability of a rich store of like objects being hid underneath. It thus became a matter of the highest importance to dig down to the very rock and overturn every foot of earth in the walled enclosure. This important work was inaugurated in 1882, when the embankment, some thirty-five feet deep, which covers the eastern foundation wall of the Parthenon, was excavated and soon yielded a most important clue both to the nature of the sculptures which adorned the earlier buildings on the Acropolis, and to the successive changes which had preceded its condition during classic times. Some fragments of the head of the seated statue of Athena found in 1863 at the other end of the enclosure were recovered here, and showed the goddess as engaged in a contest; while other pieces of sculpture of the same primitive workmanship revealed, when pieced together, one group

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representing the contest of the gods against the giants, and another group, that of Hercules against the Lernæan hydra. The rough state of the back of these sculptures indicated that they had originally stood in the pediments of some temple more ancient than those now existing on the Acropolis; while there were traces of a vivid coloring, of the reliefs against a dark-blue background, which was evidently intended to give boldness to the as yet feeble technique of the sculpture.

After a lapse of two years the excavations, having been resumed in the winter of 1885, resulted, during the first days of the following February, in the most wonderful find which the Acropolis had yet yielded. The space between the Erechtheion and the northern wall, which had revealed the first archaic sculpture in 1863, was now attacked, and was found to consist of a bewildering mass of architectural fragments, hewn and rough stones, broken inscriptions, sculptures and pedestals, débris of all kinds, earth and rubbish, heaped together and evidently thrown in to fill up and bring to a level the hollow formed by the underlying rock dipping toward the outer wall. Here, at a depth of twelve to fourteen feet below the surface, fourteen female statues in marble were found lying prostrate, of which eight were in an almost perfect condition, the heads being uninjured. Traces of fire were noticeable on most of them, but all were marked by vivid coloring, the eyes, hair, face, the ornaments, and raiment being picked out in brilliant and varied tints. The most striking characteristic, however, of these remarkable statues consisted in their almost unvarying similarity of trait, posture, and drapery. They are all of the stiff, conventional archaic form, with narrow oblique eyes, the lips drawn into a smile, half awkward, half proud, the left arm falling rigidly by the side, while the right, formed of a separate piece of marble fitted into a socket, is extended forward and holds an apple or pomegranate. The coiffure is of an especially elaborate and elegant treatment, and the drapery clings closely to the body in rather heavy folds, of a formal and stiff pattern. So close is the similarity of characteristics running through them all that at first sight they seem to represent one and the same personality; and for this reason they were at the outset supposed to be so many presentments of Athena. For various conclusive reasons this supposition has been abandoned, and the most likely, though still problematic, explanation seems to be that they were votive offerings of individual female devotees who desired thus to place themselves under the constant protection and the auspicious recollection of the goddess, near whose temple the

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statues must have stood ranged. Or, again, they may have been the statues of Athenian maidens devoted to the service of the goddess.

In spite of these doubts, and notwithstanding their conventionality and stiffness, these early specimens of Athenian art possess a strange and indescribable charm. They bear the impress of a deep religious feeling and are the outcome of an artistic effort which has just begun to feel emancipated by a freer inspiration, but has not yet succeeded in detaching itself from a preconceived and rigid type. They mark the period of evolution in Attic art which set in early in the sixth century, but which is not yet observable in the Hercules groups to which we have alluded, and which are of an even earlier date. Thus this marvellous discovery brought us, by one bound, into immediate contact with an epoch hitherto vaguely surmised; it also lent fresh interest to a search already exciting and productive. The Greek government was encouraged to prosecute the excavations uninterruptedly for three more years up to January, 1889, by which time the whole of the area of the Acropolis was thoroughly explored, every inch of earth down to the underlying rock having been raked up and minutely examined. The result was perhaps the most important archæological campaign yet undertaken. The counterpart of the group of Hercules and the Hydra, worked in the same material—a calcareous poros-stone, a grayish tufa—and colored with even greater brilliancy, was discovered much shattered and mutilated, but still susceptible of reconstruction. When put together in the Acropolis Museum it showed the struggles of Hercules with the Triton and the Typhon, the head of the latter, more especially, being of extraordinary power and full of expression. Excellent colored reproductions of the fragments as well as of the fourteen female statues are given in the "Antike Denkmaeler" of the German Archæological Institute of Athens.

Many other sculptures, some in bronze, inscriptions of great historical and linguistic interest, fragments of pottery, and a multiplicity of other objects, all of the same epoch and style, were also recovered. But perhaps the most important result of these excavations is the elucidation of the hitherto unknown topography of the sacred hill. In the beginning of the fifth century the Acropolis was already occupied by a large number of buildings, the most important of which was always the temple of Athena. The site of this early shrine (which was later considerably enlarged and ornamented by Peisistrates), as well as its dimensions and general character, have now

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been absolutely authenticated. It was situated to the east of the Periclean Parthenon, in close proximity to the Erechtheion and not far from the large mass of débris already alluded to. The foundations have been traced of a royal palace, also, which, at a still earlier period, stood on the Acropolis of Athens, as was the case with those of Mycenæ and Tiryns. Furthermore the line of the Pelasgic walls, which originally enclosed but a restricted area on the rocky plateau, has been identified.

These indications, and what was already known of the Persian invasion of the Acropolis, helped to determine the character of the other finds. When after the battle of Salamis the Athenians returned to their homes they found their sanctuaries wrecked so completely as to admit of no repair; they could only be reconstructed. Elated by their victories, proud of their newly-acquired prestige, and disposing of the rich booty they had captured, the people of Athens determined to do honor to their protecting divinity in a manner worthy of the city, by rebuilding the shrines on the Acropolis on a scale of great magnificence and in accordance with the gigantic advancing strides which, under the pervading glorious inspirations, art had made in Athens. The remnants of the old temples and their maimed and shattered statues were deemed not worth preserving; their sanctity had abandoned them. The poros-stone of which the earlier structures were built was now good enough only for the new walls with which Cimon commenced to enclose a far more extensive portion of the plateau. And to this day the triglyphs, columns, and other fragments of the old temple may be seen imbedded in the northern wall. But this enlargement of the enclosed area comprised deep hollows at the outskirts; and in raising these to a level with the central portion of the plateau, the discarded and despised remnants of a less glorious past were there buried, to be resuscitated after a lapse of twenty-four centuries. Thus have they now been made to speak to us in unmistakable language, and to interpret the growth of that later art whose superhuman splendor had silenced its predecessors, as it now overshadows all that has since followed.

Such, in brief, is the wondrous tale of the discovery of an earlier Athenian Acropolis which the liberality of the Greek government and the skill and enthusiasm of Greek scholars have brought to light. Great credit is due to Dr. Cavvadias, the Ephor of Antiquities, for the admirable manner in which he conducted these memorable excavations; thus proving himself a worthy successor of the venerable Prof. Stephanos Koumanoudes, the first and foremost of Greek archæologists

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whose sacred zeal breathed new life into many an ancient monument, and whose life-long labors are in themselves a monument worthy the emulation of younger men. Nothing can be more hopeful for the future than this zeal and devotion of the Greeks to the imperishable legacy of their ancestors. The Greek public and the Greek legislature have never stinted the funds required of them for the excavation and preservation of the antiquities of the country. In proportion to her limited resources and to the magnitude of the work before her, no country has done so much as Greece in this connection. Of late years more especially the activity of Greek archæologists has been very remarkable. It is impossible in the restricted limits of this article to give anything like an adequate account of the results achieved on the various sites lately explored. They can only be briefly enumerated here.

The Greek Archæological Society, which had already in 1876–77 excavated the Athenian Asklepieion, on the southern declivity of the rock of the Acropolis, during the years 1881–95 prosecuted its researches of the greater and even more famous sanctuary of Æsculapius at Epidauros, again under the direction of Dr. Cavvadias. The whole of the vast precinct, sacred to the god, has been laid bare, bringing to light, besides the principal temple, the Stadion, the Gymnasium, the Propylæa, the Porticos, the superb theatre,—one of the largest in Greece and almost perfect in preservation,—a number of other buildings, several important pieces of sculpture, and, above all, an unrivalled series of inscriptions which thoroughly elucidate a cultus hitherto imperfectly understood, fully explain the healing processes practised by the Greeks, and shed, in many respects, a humorous light on the inner and familiar aspects of Greek life. The clearing of the Stadion and the theatre still continues, with results of the highest archæological interest, elucidating many contested points as to the athletics of the Greeks. The sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis had been, from time immemorial, not only one of the most sacred spots in Greece, but one whose mystic interest had never been clearly determined. The precise nature of the Eleusinian mysteries remains to this day an unsolved secret. The details of the site itself were up to a comparatively recent time but vaguely known. In 1815 the Society of Dilettanti made an imperfect attempt to explore it. The French savant, Lenormant, went a little farther during his researches in 1860–61. But the honor of its entire and thorough exploration belongs to the Greek Archæological Society, which, assisted financially by the Greek gov-

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ernment, carried on systematic and exhaustive excavations from 1882 to 1890 under the direction of Dr. Philios. The situation and character of the entire group of buildings which constituted the sanctuary have been determined, very important pieces of sculpture have been recovered, and the large number of inscriptions found there has furnished a lucid account of the sacerdotal and administrative organization of the sanctuary. These excavations have since been continued, the outlying portions of the site being now gradually cleared. Among the quite recent finds is a beautiful red-figured terra-cotta plaque, the representation on which has some as yet undefined connection with the mysteries. Besides these principal achievements, the Archæological Society has been occupied during the last few years with several other less prominent but not less important undertakings in various parts of Greece, notably in the Necropolis of Tanagra, near Thebes, where a rich mine of the now famous statuettes, which go by that name, had unfortunately been already encroached upon by bands of poachers and illicit traders.

But the field of research in Greece is so vast—it may be said to be practically inexhaustible—that no one body of men, no one government, can hope to explore it alone. And in this respect the Greeks have given proof of no envious or grasping and narrow mind. With a large and liberal spirit, worthy of the cause of science, but rarely met with in other quarters under precisely similar circumstances, the Greek government admitted foreign societies and states to share in a work which enlists more and more the eager emulation of learned men, since it confers signal distinction upon those worthy to participate in it. The most noteworthy instance of this kind is the exploration of Olympia, not only on account of the celebrity of the spot, but because of the unprecedented richness of the harvest it yielded, as well as the august auspices under which the work was completed. The fame of the Olympic games, which had endured for twelve consecutive centuries, as well as the enchanting description, left to us by Pausanias, of the site in Elis, "the fairest spot in Greece," as Lysias calls it, diminutive in extent but unequalled in the splendor and unsurpassed in the richness of its temples, sanctuaries, and public buildings, adorned with no less than three thousand statues, a veritable museum of Greek art, and the shrine of the devotion of an entire race—all this was calculated, even at the dawn of the science of archæology, to arouse a longing in the breasts of learned men for a search after the lost glories of Olympia.

In a letter to Cardinal Quizini, Bishop of Corfu, in 1723,

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Montfaucon expressed the conviction that the earth of Elis still enshrined innumerable remains of its past greatness. Fifty years later Winckelmann wrote: "I am convinced that a great harvest is to be reaped in Elis which would surpass all expectations, and that a thorough exploration of that spot will shed much light on the history of art." And his ardor in this cause was such that it was humorously said of him that he could even become a Mussulman if only he were allowed to explore Olympia. To his dying day, in 1786, Winckelmann, with the Teutonic perseverance, repeated: "That which one desires in earnest always becomes possible: I have this matter as much at heart as my history of art." The Society of Dilettanti deputed Richard Chandler to visit the site in 1766. Chandler was followed by Fauvel, the French consul at Athens, and by John Hawkins, an English traveler, toward the close of the century; by Colonel W. M. Leake in 1805; by Gell and Dodwell in 1806; and by Cockerell in 1811. In 1814 Quatremère de Quincey published his great work "Le Jupiter Olympien, ou l'Art de la Sculpture Antique," and in 1824 Lord John Spencer Stanhope issued his description of the plain of Olympia. Finally in 1829, when, after the battle of Navarino, Charles X sent to the Peloponnesus a corps of occupation under Marshal Maison, the "Expédition Scientifique de la Morée," which accompanied the French army, attempted some researches on the site of the great temple of the Olympian Zeus. These perfunctory excavations, however, resulted only in the recovery of a few pieces of sculpture, which are now preserved in the Louvre.

But the complete exploration of the site, which was thus first conceived by a Frenchman, earnestly advocated by a German, and practically initiated by a French expedition, is mainly due to the venerable Prof. Ernst Curtius, whose attempts date from 1852. He conceived and directed this vast undertaking, and it was through his influence that the late Emperor Frederic was induced to lend his patronage and to obtain from the Imperial Diet the necessary funds, which ultimately amounted to no less than $200,000. Excavations, carried on under a formal convention with the Greek government, were begun in 1875, and were continued during six consecutive winter campaigns on a thoroughly scientific and prearranged plan. Beyond some traces of the researches of 1829, and a few vestiges of walls, there remained above ground but few indications of the glories of Olympia. The games were celebrated for the last time in 393 A.D., and in the following year they were prohibited by a decree of the

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Emperor Theodosius I. In 425 Theodosius II, in his iconoclastic zeal, ordered the very buildings to be burnt. They had already been denuded of their most precious objects by the repeated plundering of Roman and Byzantine emperors. The invasion of Greece by the Goths under Alaric, and, later, by the Slavs, carried havoc through what remained of Olympia. The temple of Zeus was then transformed into a fortress and surrounded by a massive wall built of the fragments of other monuments. Two terrible earthquakes, in 522 and 551, levelled to the ground both that temple and whatever else was still standing; and the subsequent abandonment of the site by the inhabitants, who sought safety on higher ground, left the forces of nature to preserve from further devastation what the fury of man had spared. The two rivers within which the Altis, the sacred precinct, was confined,—the Alpheus and the Cladeus,—in course of time changed their channels, and by repeated inundations deposited layers of alluvial soil, from fifteen to twenty feet deep, over the whole extent of the enclosure; while, on the other hand, rains and landslips carried down the slopes of Mount Cronion, which shelters the Altis to the north, enormous masses of earth, thus helping to give a restful burial to the much shattered and devastated remains of what was once the "fairest spot in Greece." To remove this huge earthen shroud, to examine every stone, to mark every vestige that came to light, was the heroic task through which the German mission resolutely labored in their search after the hallowed relics of Olympia. And their devotion and perseverance were richly rewarded. "One hundred and thirty marble statues and reliefs, thirteen thousand bronze objects, six thousand coins, four hundred inscriptions, a thousand objects in terra-cotta, forty buildings: such was the wonderful booty won by the explorers."[1]

Yet the recovery of the famous Hermes of Praxiteles alone would have been deemed ample reward for their toil and expense. These treasures now fill an entire museum built near the spot through the liberality of M. Syngros, a Greek banker. And such is the flood of light they have shed on the particular branch of Hellenic life which was connected with Olympia, that we can now read Pindar with as intimate a knowledge of the details to which his odes refer, as if we had been eye-witnesses of the very events. It is perhaps not unwarrantable to add that to this resuscitation of the fame of Olympia we may trace, in no small degree, the enthusiasm which attended the recent revival of the Olympic games at Athens.

[1] Laloux et Monceaux, "La Restauration de l'Olympie."

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Not the least important result of this scientific triumph of the Germans was the emulation it excited among French scholars—an emulation far more honorable and beneficial than the competition in armaments. The French, who were the first to establish a permanent school of archæology at Athens, had already signalized their presence in Greece by various minor explorations, the best known of which was Beulé's discovery of the Propylæa gate. But the impression which the Olympian excavations created in the world of letters urged them to look around for an undertaking of comparable importance. The island of Delos, now uninhabited, but in the palmy days of Greece one of the most flourishing and lovely of the Cyclades,—the birthplace and revered shrine of Apollo, teeming with the wealth of pious offerings of the Hellenic world, studded with sanctuaries and temples, planted with a forest of statues and altars, the envied goal of sacred embassies, but now abandoned, bereft of vegetation, almost forgotten, and rarely visited but by ships under quarantine,—Delos had attracted the attention of French archæologists as early as 1873. The first desultory researches of M. Lebègue, however, did not result in much of interest. The Greek Archæological Society, which, after him, took up the work, was more successful. But the French school at Athens claimed the right of reversion, and instituted serious excavations in 1877, under MM. Dumont and Homolles.

The distinguishing and, for the French savants, creditable feature of these excavations consists in the fact that, beyond the ancient fame of the Delian sanctuary, no precise indications were available as guides to its exploration. Delos was one of the few important centres in Greece which Pausanias did not visit; while all the other ancient accounts of it which we know to have been written have been lost. Moreover, Delos, after suffering repeated spoliations, was plundered and completely devastated by one of Mithridates's generals in 87 B. C., and from that devastation it does not seem to have recovered. What we know of its subsequent fate is, that the Knights of St. John used the ruins of its temples and public buildings as material for their churches and fortresses in the adjacent islands, and the godless pillage of marble ready-hewn went on until quite recent times. Hence there was hardly any landmark left as a guide to the sites of the principal structures and especially to that of the great temple of Apollo. In spite of these disadvantages M. Homolles's work, which was carried on from 1877 to 1880 and was then continued by other members of the French school up to 1890, succeeded beyond expecta-

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tion. The inroads above referred to despoiled Delos almost completely of architectural and artistic remains. But the topography of the small island, which was but an extensive sanctuary, has been determined; while the harvest of inscriptions, dating from the seventh century B. C. to the early years of our era, is so rich and valuable that it constitutes in itself a new and important source of Greek history. Contemporaneously with the work carried on at Delos, another member of the French school, M. Maurice Holleaux, undertook the exploration of another sanctuary of Apollo, situated at the foot of Mount Ptoïon, to the east of the plain which formed, until lately, Lake Copais, in Bœotia. The temple of Apollo Ptoïos was celebrated as an ancient oracle of the god; and M. Holleaux's researches have resulted not only in defining the position and structure of the temple itself, but in establishing its great antiquity by a number of very important inscriptions and by a series of archaic statues in marble and bronze, the comparison of which latter with the like sculptures unearthed on the Acropolis as well as in Eleusis and Delos, elucidates the development of early Greek art.

The French were apparently minded or destined by circumstances to bring to light the various ancient abodes of the sun-god in Greece. Their latest and greatest undertaking has been the excavation of the celebrated Delphic shrine of Apollo. The importance of this work, which is still in progress, is so exceptional, and the interest which attaches to the subject so absorbing, that it must be reserved for a separate and concluding article. That article will include a survey of the archæological researches of the American school at Athens, which are already such as to do much credit to American scholarship.

J. GENNADIUS.

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THE MATRIMONIAL MARKET.

THE economists tell us that it is the price of the surplus of any product placed on a foreign market that determines the price of the entire mass produced. The farmer in Minnesota whose wheat is sold, ground, and eaten in the next town gets no higher price for it—so long as the whole country raises more wheat than the people of the country can eat—than will yield a profit if it be sent five thousand miles to Liverpool. Clearly then it is to the advantage of the wheat growers all over the land that the population should increase and multiply and wax fat on wheaten bread—that the demand for what can be raised should keep pace with the supply, or, as the acute French put it much more simply and completely, with the offer. This may seem a crude, even rude, law to cite as underlying the marriage customs of the Republic and closely and directly affecting the happiness of millions of women and men and their offspring. But such a law there is, and, on the whole, I am enough of an optimist to believe that it works steadily for the bettering of the condition of the race.

Whatever else marriage may or ought to be, and however the fact may be concealed or modified by associations—religious, social, literary, —there can be no doubt that it is, for a very large part of the women of the country, a means of livelihood. No one knows what the proportion is, but no one will deny that a very large number of girls regard a husband as the only sure source of such means as are required for their support, and that this view is frequently correct. Of course other conditions are involved and often are controlling; some more refined and pleasant, some perhaps decidedly less so, but for a very considerable number it remains true that they expect to be supported through marriage and know of no other way. I do not now argue for or against the desirability of such a state of things; I do not assert or deny that it is a law of nature, or of human society, or of Providence: I simply cite the fact and venture to point out some of its results, and the bearing on them of the simple economic law that governs the disposition of marriageable women as it does of Minnesota wheat.

To begin with, in all thickly populated and settled communities the

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number of women born tends slightly to exceed the number of men. Here, then, is produced continuously and without chance for evasion or hope of any facile change, a slight but appreciable surplus of women. So far as their destination is marriage, and supposing the tendency to marriage equally strong in both sexes, and the Christian institution of monogamy to prevail, there must be an offer (an offer, in the strictly economic sense only) somewhat greater than the demand. This discrepancy, slight in itself, is liable to be increased in the ratio that men may be unwilling or unable to take unto themselves wives; and thus the intensity of the desire, the need even, of marriage among women, other things being equal, tends to become greater. The only way in which it can be—I will not say corrected, for some of my readers doubtless think it a divinely ordained force in the regulation of human progress,—but let me say that the only way in which it can be reduced, is by reducing the necessity to women of marriage as a means of securing a living. This, I think, is precisely what has happened, and in increasing ratio within the last half or even quarter of a century. Of course the process has been going on more or less regularly since the dawn of historic civilization. But it has been more rapid and general and therefore more obvious, especially in America, within the period mentioned.

Within the memory of any of us who has passed middle age, a woman in America who did not marry and had to support herself, generally and almost exclusively did so by domestic service or sewing or some form of teaching. The woman, whatever her class, who remained what was then far more ungraciously than now termed an "old maid," and who gained her own living, did so in one or other of these pursuits. It is very different now, and in two ways. First, in the old callings there is far more scope and an increased demand, which is, I think, out of proportion to the increase of population. More servants are employed, their duties are more varied, more skill and intelligence are required, the pay is better, the average standard of comfort is higher, and a number of peculiar services has been added in which women can engage with a standing greatly improved and less undesirable to those who formerly shunned all service as "menial." Very probably many of the women under whose eyes these remarks are likely to fall will still see in any form of service a means of livelihood to be accepted only as the last desperate resource, and some of them perhaps will think that the changes I have noted ought not to be considered for a moment in comparison with the advantages of marriage,

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as they know it or imagine it. But I am speaking not of their class, which in mere point of numbers is not overwhelmingly important, but of the great body of women who must live and may have to marry,—in short of the marriageable product.

On that the increased desirability or scope of any employment yielding a living may have some influence. As to the occupation of what was formerly the sewing woman, it has developed widely in many directions. Far greater numbers of women are employed in the simpler processes, and even in these the statistics show that there has been an advance in money wages which has been enhanced in practical value by the decline in the cost of nearly all the necessaries of life except rent. Passing from these processes to those that require something more than patient industry, that require dexterity, ingenuity, taste, we find a very pronounced advance in the number of things that women can do in the way of "sewing," and get wages for doing which, either in actual amount or in what they will purchase, are far beyond what could be earned say in the 'fifties. Closely allied to these employments and growing out of them are those connected with the higher branches of the business of providing women's apparel or the materials for it. There are numerous business houses in the United States to-day who pay to women in certain positions connected with the manufacture and sale of clothing a salary that forty years since would have supported at least a score of sewing women. It is hardly necessary to point out the very great demand for women as teachers, chiefly in the public schools, which is unquestionably greater than the mere growth of the population requires, and which, as in the other occupations, has developed more exacting and better paid positions.

Here, then, is one of the two modes in which the situation is changed. The old employments afford more and more satisfactory chances of livelihood. The second mode is, perhaps, more important and is certainly more striking. It consists in the rapid development of entirely new employments.

This change has been more recent, more rapid and extensive than the other. The most important, so far as numbers are concerned, is in the employment of women in shops, at the sales counters, or as cashiers and bookkeepers, and as stenographers and typewriters in general business and the professions. Statistics are not needed to establish the immense progress in this direction. Any one who goes up and down in the land, and especially in the towns and cities, can see or learn it for himself. In the city of New York, for instance, in what may be

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called the office-building district below Chambers Street, where the population of a good-sized town is gathered tier on tier within the ground area of a common city lot, young women swarm. Morning and evening the streets are crowded with them. Farther uptown, for at least a couple of miles, at the same hours a large proportion of the crowds that stream along the streets are young women also, these mostly of what is known as the shop-girl class. These are now common sights of city life, but a man need not be very old—at least I hope not—to remember when the sight of a half dozen young women in the neighborhood of Wall Street was a novel and exciting event, and when, in the uptown stores, even in those devoted to the sale of the most esoteric constituents of women's attire, women were found as customers only, and were waited upon, more or less skilfully, by persons of the superior sex.

Statistics, as I have said, are not required to prove the change. They are, however, useful to measure its extent. Take the figures of the census of 1890 with reference to the number of those engaged in what are classed as gainful occupations. The total is 22,735,661; it was 17,392,099 in 1880,—an advance of 30.72 per cent. The increase in the number of males engaged in gainful occupations was 27.64 per cent; but the increase in the number of females was 47.68 per cent. As the increase in total population for the same period was a trifle under 25 per cent, it will be seen how very marked was the influx of women in the income-earning occupations. If now we turn to the employments as classified in the census reports, we find the following ratio of increase prevail: professional services, men 48.53 per cent, women 75.84 per cent; domestic and personal service, men 15.97 per cent, women 41.15 per cent; manufacturing and mechanical industries, men 46.01 per cent, women 62.87 per cent; trade and transportation, men 71.75 per cent, women 263.25 per cent. These percentages would, of course, be misleading if the totals were disregarded, but they indicate clearly enough the direction in which the change has been going on, and the lines on which it has been most marked, while the totals show that women are now a little more than 17 per cent of those engaged in gainful occupations, whereas in 1880 they were a little less than 15 per cent.

The advance is still more strikingly indicated in the statistics of special employments. On the following page is a table the chief significance of which any one can take in at a glance. It shows the number of men and the number of women engaged in each occupation according to the census of 1880 and that of 1890:

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MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.	Census of 1880.	Census of 1890.
Artists and teachers of art, men	7,043	11,676
women	2,061	10,810
Authors, men	811	3,989
women	320	2,725
Musicians and teachers of music, men	17,295	27,636
women	13,182	34,519
Teachers, men	73,335	96,581
women	154,375	245,230
Nurses and midwives, men	1,189	6,688
women	14,422	51,402
Sales, men	24,535	205,931
women	7,744	58,449
Bookkeepers and accountants, men	57,425	131,602
women	2,365	27,772
Clerks and copyists, men	23,820	492,852
women	1,647	64,048
Stenographers and typewriters, men		12,148
women		21,185

The classification of the census of 1880 does not include stenographers and typewriters. The census states that among bookkeepers and accountants women counted 2,365, and among clerks and copyists 1,647,—in all, 4,012. The total number of women in these classes and of stenographers and typewriters in 1890 was 113,005. The number of women in all the occupations in the above table was in 1880 196,106; in 1890 it was 516,140. Speaking broadly five women were engaged in these occupations in 1890 as against two in 1880. In certain occupations the change in the relative number of the men and women is very noteworthy. In 1880 the women were less than a fourth of the artists and teachers of art, in 1890 they were nearly one half. Of musicians and teachers of music in 1880 there were only about two women to three men, in 1890 there were nearly four women to three men. It is to be borne in mind, however, that these changes are exceptional. In the occupations which women have "invaded" in the largest numbers, those of teachers, salesmen, bookkeepers, stenographers, typewriters, etc., the ratio of increase has been about the same with the two sexes. As I have already pointed out, taking all the gainful occupations, although the ratio of increase for women is 47.88

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per cent, and for men only 27.64 per cent, yet the women are in 1890 but 17 per cent of the total as against 15 per cent in 1880. It is a fair conclusion that while many more women earned their own living in 1890 than in 1880, they had over the whole field to a very slight extent only displaced the men.

The change in the proportion of women who now earn an income, and presumably a living, is the important point. About one in three of the total population are engaged in "gainful occupation," and only one in about twenty of the female population. The proportion to females of marriageable age is, of course, much larger, and it is this percentage that produces the effect I have noted as to the necessity of marriage to women as a means of support. What the effect is upon society, I do not now propose to discuss. It is much too large and complex a question to be stated even with any fulness in a single article. Whether a smaller proportion of women will marry, whether they will marry at a later age, whether fewer children will be born, whether the average of happiness in wedded life will be greater, whether the offspring will be better cared for,—are the subordinate or associated questions as to which there is room for much honest difference of opinion and for endless discussion. The facts I have noted, the statistics I have cited—and they would undoubtedly be much more striking were they brought down five years later,—show that it is becoming clearly easier for the average woman in the United States to earn her livelihood without marriage—if she so choose.

EDWARD CARY.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

THE result of the Canadian elections has aroused a great deal of attention on two continents, and in the United States peculiar interest has been evoked by the fact that the bone of contention resembled very closely the one which caused the American civil war, —namely, States' rights. Since 1878 the Conservatives of Canada have held power, and always by large majorities. To the surprise of everybody, on June 23 last, however, the tables were turned, and the Liberals swept the country, the province of Quebec, especially, swelling the victory by an overwhelming vote, her country parishes, where the church is supreme, vying with the cities in the overthrow. The Government counted on Quebec for its principal support, and only a few days before the election the French leader telegraphed the premier to be hopeful, as he would guarantee him a majority in his own province of at least twenty. Had that prediction been verified, Canada would still be Conservative in politics, and the old fiscal policy would not be disturbed. But the Liberals won nearly every seat, and on the night of the battle the three French ministers were defeated, and fell with their comrades. One statesman, however, who after twenty-three years' hard service had been deposed by his successors, succeeded in carrying his constituency, and by the irony of fate becomes leader of the French opposition in the House of Commons.

There were two important issues before the people, though the Conservative platform embraced no fewer than ten planks. The Manitoba Schools Question was one of them; the other was the tariff. As the reader will probably remember, Manitoba entered the Union in 1870, and in the following year established, after the manner of the older provinces, a system of schools for Protestants and Catholics under the supervision of a joint school board, each managing its own schools. As time wore on, and the Protestant population materially increased, it was deemed advisable by the majority to change the system, and, accordingly, in 1890, public schools were established. Against the new plan the Roman Catholics interposed a strong protest. They appealed to the Governor-General in coun-

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cil for relief, demanded their share of the public money allotted for education, and insisted on having the old system restored. The agitation was vigorously opposed by the stronger party, and much ill-feeling was engendered. After passing various steps, the appeal finally reached the Privy Council of Great Britain, and judgment, in 1895, was given in favor of the Roman Catholics. The Canadian Government prepared a remedial order restoring to the Catholics their right to a share of the legislative school grant. It had little effect, however, on the Manitoba majority, and that legislature refused to entertain it. A commission went to Winnipeg and tried the policy of conciliation. It fared no better, and then a bill was introduced into the House of Commons to compel the Manitoba government to yield. In the meantime, general elections were held in the prairie province, and the ministry came back more popular than ever.

The remedial bill was killed in committee by the vigorous obstruction of a dissatisfied wing of the Conservatives, aided by some of the Liberals. Parliament expired by the effluxion of time on April 23, the Cabinet was reconstructed, and Sir Charles Tupper took his place at the head of the Government, and began a seven weeks' campaign among the electorate. His opponent was Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, a Roman Catholic gentleman of high character, who had failed, however, to gain the ear of his church. The mandements of the hierarchy played an important part in the great contest. The bishops of Ontario and the maritime provinces did not go as far as their lordships of Quebec. The latter went very far indeed. They maintained that to the ecclesiastical power belonged the right to judge whether the interference should take place in the form of command or of counsel, and when that interference took the imperative form only one thing remained to be done by the faithful, and that was to obey. The interests of the church rose superior to *all* rights, all considerations, and all political aspirations. Before the electors, in the churches and elsewhere, the priests were very outspoken. Some of them went beyond the mandement, and made their own comments on it. The editors of French newspapers on the Liberal side were denounced, and threatened with excommunication and the index. It was the first time in very many years that the church had come out so openly in favor of one political party, and religious excitement, naturally, ran high. Parkman writes:—

"The peace of Paris gave civil liberty to the people of Quebec, but the conqueror left their religious system untouched, and through it they have imposed

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upon themselves a weight of ecclesiastical tutelage that finds few equals in the most Catholic countries of Europe. Such guardianship is not without certain advantages. For when faithfully exercised it aids to uphold some of the tamer virtues, if that can be called a virtue which needs the constant presence of a sentinel to keep it from escaping; but it is fatal to mental robustness and moral courage; and if French-Canada would fulfil its aspirations it must cease to be one of the most priest-ridden communities of the modern world."

After such an exhibition, the dictum that the church thoroughly understands her people, and thinks for them must be revised. Her own safety, hereafter, will, more likely, be her first thought. To her the spectacle could not be edifying, of thousands of her sons marching to the polls, and voting for candidates whom she had unsparingly condemned. Recovery from such a shock will be slow.

The heads of the church in Canada have always opposed annexation to the United States, and the maintenance of British connection is their first thought. In 1812, and again in 1837, they were on England's side. They won. The reason, perhaps, is not far to seek. They dislike change; they move with deliberation. Britain left with them the laws, language, institutions, and the religion which they had enjoyed before the conquest of 1759, unimpaired and complete. They are not so sure that the church would retain its hold on the people by a political change and by the severance of old ties. The *curés* think that in the Republic their flocks would be exposed to temptations which do not exist in their own villages. It must be confessed, exiles lose, in time, many of their primitive characteristics. They live under less restraint, and while they attend faithfully to their religious duties, and are good citizens, generally, the fact cannot be disguised that the church has not the same grasp in the new home that it had in the old one on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the interior of Quebec. This the Canadian clergy understand very well, and it pains them to learn that the American disregard of the cloth sometimes makes headway among the younger exiles, and that the soutane is rarely seen in American streets. To keep the power they have over their people is their first idea; but their failure, the other day, to dominate the voters of their respective flocks, prompts one to believe that a great upheaval is about to take place, and I notice, already, that in some quarters in the American Union the hope is expressed that the French are not averse to changing their allegiance. Indeed, much is made of their disobedience to clerical dictation, but, from the American standpoint, the failure of the priests disposes of one of the chief objections to union or annexation. It will be found, however, that though annexation is still far off, emigration

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will continue to flow extensively into the United States from Quebec, even should a change of flags not ensue. Repatriation has been tried by the Quebec legislature, but no appreciable result has followed the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent on the experiment.

During the campaign, Mr. Laurier was styled by a bishop of prominence, "a rationalistic Liberal." He resented this, and the voters, following suit, voted for his candidates. The cry was raised against him that he was not a good Catholic, but it lost him no support among the members of his creed, and many Conservative Protestants went to his side out of sympathy for him, and as a rebuke to the priesthood whose domination they considered ought to be opposed. For the first time in the history of Canada, a French-Canadian was put up as Premier. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and many ballots were cast for him on that score alone.

The other issue upon which the election turned was tariff reform. It was known that Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright differed on that question on several essential points. At heart the leader is a free trader, and his views on reciprocity with the United States are exceedingly liberal and broad. On the other hand, his lieutenant favors commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity. In the beginning of the campaign, these friendly rivals were not publicly *en évidence* together, and, for a time, the prospective Finance Minister confined himself to a limited area and talked little of the policy which, if returned to power, the Liberals would introduce. Free trade as it exists in the British Isles is, of course, impossible in a country like Canada, which is territorially great, but sparse in population, and where the public debt is high. The most was made, during the elections, of Mr. Laurier's known views, and it was urged strongly that unless he were defeated the Dominion would relapse into a slaughter market for the United States; her workshops and factories would close down, and her artisans would find themselves on the very brink of ruin and starvation. That these statements were believed, the returns from the polling booths of Ontario and other manufacturing districts will supply the proof. All is fair, doubtless, in love, war, and politics, and so the Liberal leader found himself confronted, at the outset, by a formidable charge. This he hastened to disprove. It has been given out that there is to be no immediate tinkering with the tariff,—that no radical change will take place in the duties until notice is given far in advance, so that no interests can suffer by a sudden or violent attack upon them. A tariff for revenue the country must have; it is an absolute necessity; but

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haste will be made slowly in the direction of reducing the present protective tariff. In all his speeches, Mr. Laurier has spoken of gradual reduction, and not an immediate resort to the pruning knife. As many manufacturers are Liberals, it is clear that few of their votes would have gone to the Liberal leader unless he had assured them of the course he intended to pursue. A lightning change would be bad for the country at large, even if the Dominion could afford it, and afford it she cannot, at present, owing to her financial position, and the obligations which must be met. The public will welcome free-trade relations with Great Britain and the United States. It is not impossible to have a new treaty with the latter country, based on grounds of common advantage, and Mr. Laurier and his friends are warmly in favor of making another attempt to bring it about. There is every reason to expect that a fair compact can be brought about by the statesmen of both countries who desire to see every avenue of trade and commerce opened up. Joseph Howe was of that opinion as far back as July, 1865, when he made his powerful address at the great international commercial convention in Detroit, where he spoke for Canada to five thousand business men, in the vain attempt to stay the repeal of the Act of 1854. He said:—

"We are here to determine how best we can draw together, in the bonds of peace, friendship, and commercial prosperity, the three great branches of the British family. In the presence of this great theme all petty interests should stand rebuked—we are not dealing with the concerns of a city, a province, or a state, but with the future of our race in all time to come. Some reference has been made to 'elevators' in your discussions. What we want is an elevator to lift our souls to the height of this great argument. Why should not these three great branches of the family flourish, under different systems of government, it may be, but forming one grand whole, proud of a common origin, and of their advanced civilization?"

One of the first acts, it is believed, that the Liberal Government will do, will be to send a deputation to Washington, headed by Sir Richard Cartwright, to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with the United States. Both countries are old enough now to understand one another's needs perfectly. It is not to be supposed—nor would the idea be entertained for a moment in Canada—that the terms to be agreed upon would be favorable to only one of the parties to the bargain. There must, in all matters of this kind, be some give and take. The United States, several years ago, distinctly made overtures to Canada, and more recently to the West Indies, offering special privileges on condition that they would have an interchange of commodities,

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but not allowing British manufactures in on the same terms. This, of course, was not entertained by the Conservative Government then in power at Ottawa, nor would it be entertained to-day by the Liberal administration sitting in the same place. It is not likely that the Imperial Government would sanction any such arrangement, were it resolved upon by the United States and Canada. The discrimination against British goods would be a serious matter, and the Colonial Office would not hear of it, it is safe to say. Indeed, a ruling has been had upon the subject already. Lord Ripon, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Earl of Rosebery's Cabinet, is the author of the following despatch, which was made public only a short time ago. It describes the policy to which Liberals and Conservatives alike, in England, are fully committed:—

"If a colony were to grant preferential treatment to the produce of a foreign country, and were to refuse to extend the benefit of that treatment to the mother country, and the other colonies, or some of them, such a step could not fail to isolate and alienate that country from the rest of the empire, and attract it politically as well as commercially toward the favored power. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that the colonies will agree that such a result would be fraught with danger to the interests of the empire as a whole, and that they will also agree that it would be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to assent to any such arrangement."

The present Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, holds the same views. His Zollverein scheme, however, which provides for closer trade relations between the mother country and her colonies, and their attitude, on a common understanding with each other, in dealing with foreign countries, and more particularly with the United States, does not appear to be making great headway. England would never consent to place a tax on breadstuffs or food supplies. That is a self-evident fact. If the main principles embodied in his scheme, however, had been adopted some years ago, beyond doubt by this time England and Canada, and the other colonies, would have had fair reciprocal trade relations established, not only with the United States, but with other foreign countries as well. Just now the United States enjoys the great advantage of having the markets of Australia, the Cape, and the West Indies as free to her as to any of the sister colonies, or even Great Britain herself. Figures are accessible showing her increased trade with the colonies and dependencies of the empire, and also the increased exports that she is sending to Great Britain and her possessions, and the gradual decrease of her imports, rendering her every day more and more independent. The promoters of the movement think that

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the time is very opportune for urging some definite action on the part of Great Britain toward a united empire, with the closest possible trade-relations between the various component parts, and operating together if any foreign countries refuse reciprocal rights. On this subject, the Liberals of Canada have taken, thus far, no firm stand. The Conservatives have looked into it, and it has enthusiastic and sanguine supporters. If Sir Charles Tupper had been retained, his Government might have dealt with it, or, at all events, tried to do so. Mr. Laurier, however, may be open to overtures. In the meantime, the latter strongly favors reciprocity with the United States, and he will make every effort in his power to get it. It formed a plank in his platform, and his party made the most of it in the manifesto issued to the electors from the Liberal headquarters. Thousands of them voted for it, as they did at previous elections; for reciprocity has been part of their policy for very many years. It will be interesting to note the future history of this question, and to inquire into the causes of past failures, should success crown the efforts of the Liberals.

The stagnation of trade, the general business depression, and the shrinkages in values, creating a strong feeling of unrest and distrust everywhere, contributed also their quota to the fall of the Government. The high tariff in but few instances afforded any relief for the decline in affairs. The people, eager for a change, and in a spirit almost of desperation, welcomed a platform which, at least, was different from the one which had prevailed for nearly two decades. They were prepared to accept it all the sooner when they were told that the changes proposed would be gradual and not revolutionary or drastic. The Conservatives offered no change in the diet, and persisted in declaring that their policy of protection had created prosperity in the country. The electors took their choice, and the axe fell on the national policy and the promises which had been made in its behalf.

Eighteen years is a long time for a single party to hold office continuously. Horace Greeley used to say that every eight years a party ought to dissolve. In Canada, however, our political system allows a party to rule just so long as it has a majority at its back in Parliament. When that force is taken away it must succumb and give place to the other side.

With the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, passed away forever in Canada, what might be called dictatorial leadership. One-man power has seen its last day, and no successor will come. The influence exerted by Sir John was remarkable. His word was law; his com-

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mands were never disobeyed. In the hollow of his hand he virtually held the policy, the principles, the doctrines, and the members of the party which recognized him as its chieftain. Indeed, the party, as it existed during his time, was largely of his own creation. He was himself the party. As he grew in years, the men who began life with him continued to shower their tokens of love and devotion upon him. The younger men took their places in the groove, and awaited his orders. He was a lucky captain, and his ship never lacked sailors, the ancient superstition holding good in his case. When he was called to another scene the times and the manners speedily underwent a change, and no Prime Minister since has been able to sway the party as he swayed it from the day he took command. Four tried it in as many years, but all failed. The conditions, evidently, are not as they used to be. There are many who still believe that had he lived there would have been no school-bill question to vex the voters. It would have been settled years ago by the methods peculiar to his genius. As a panacea, he would have held out to the people the national policy for the fourth time, with every probability of getting them to accept it. But his personality would have been his strongest card, and it might have won the day.

In the new Parliament of Canada there are many members who enter that arena for the first time. Many of the old hands on both sides have gone down in the fight. French-Canada provides the First Minister, and backs him with the largest majority she ever gave to a party. The Independents number about half a score. Later their allegiance will go to the Government, for 't was ever thus. Mr. Laurier's actual majority can only be guessed at until the first vote in the House is taken. It is estimated that he will start with thirty-five, which is considered a good working majority, but it will increase as time goes on. With that majority he can with ease carry out his fiscal and trade policies. He will encounter little obstruction at the hands of the Senate, despite the fact that that body is composed almost entirely of his political opponents. It has not been their habit to interfere much with the measures passed by the lower House. Upon these measures keen glances will be cast from time to time by watchful eyes in both England and the United States.

GEORGE STEWART.

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WRITERS IN THE MARCH FORUM.

MADAME MARIE-THÉRÈSE BLANC (*Family Life in America*), better known under her pseudonym "Th. Bentzon," is a gifted French novelist and critic, who has earned our gratitude by her activity in making her countrymen better acquainted with American literature and social conditions.

MR. JOSEPH NIMMO, JR. (*The Nicaragua Canal an Impracticable Scheme*), born in Huntington, Long Island, New York, was graduated from the University of the City of New York 1853. In 1865 he was appointed Special Agent of the Treasury Department for the purpose of establishing the present mode of measuring vessels for tonnage, and later became Chief of the Division of Tonnage. In 1872 he became Supervising Inspector General of Steam Vessels and in 1873 was appointed Secretary of the Senate Committee on Transportation. In 1875 he was appointed Chief of the new Division of Internal Commerce in the Treasury Department and in 1878 became Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.

MAJOR-GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD (*The Army as a Career*) was born in Leeds, Maine, 1830. He was a Union General in the Civil War, commanded a brigade at the battles of Bull Run and Fair Oaks, a division at the battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg, and an Army Corps at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Missionary Ridge, and Chattanooga; and led the right wing of Sherman's army in the march from Atlanta to the sea. He is now on the retired list.

PRESIDENT CHARLES F. THWING (*The Best Thing College does for a Man*), born in Maine in 1853, was graduated from Harvard in 1876, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1879.

PROFESSOR EDWARD W. BEMIS (*Some Municipal Problems*), born in Springfield, Mass., 1860, was graduated from Amherst College, 1880, and from the Johns Hopkins University in 1885. For three years he had charge of Economics and History at Vanderbilt University, and he was associate professor of political economy at the University of Chicago, 1892–5.

DR. GOLDWIN SMITH (*The Manitoba Schools Question*) was educated at Eton and Oxford, graduating in 1845. In 1850 he became assistant-secretary to the Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the University of Oxford, and was secretary to the second Oxford Commission; he was also placed on the Popular Education Commission (1858). From 1858 until 1866 he was regius professor of modern history at Oxford, visiting America on a lecturing tour in 1864; he returned to the United States in 1868, receiving a professorship in Cornell University. In 1871 he became a member of the Senate of Toronto University.

MR. EDWARD ATKINSON (*The Cost of an Anglo-American War*), born in Brookline, Mass., in 1827, is president of the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company. He is the author of "The Collection of Revenue," "The Distribution of Profits," etc.

DR. SIDNEY SHERWOOD (*An Alliance with England the Basis of a Rational Foreign Policy*), born in Ballston, New York, 1860, was graduated from Princeton College, 1879. Dr. Sherwood is now associate professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University.

DR. F. HEINRICH GEFFCKEN (*The European Situation*), born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1830, became widely known a few years ago through his imprisonment and trial, upon a charge of high treason by Prince Bismarck, for publishing the diary of the late Emperor Frederick. He is one of the foremost European political writers.

MR. JOHN GILMER SPEED (*The Spirit of Racing in America*) was born in Kentucky in 1853. In 1877 he became a writer for the "New York World," of which paper he was managing editor from 1879 to 1883.

MR. T. LORAINE WHITE (*Manners and Customs of the Boers*) has been a resident of South Africa for fourteen years, holding several important civil and military offices under both South African Republics and under the British Government.

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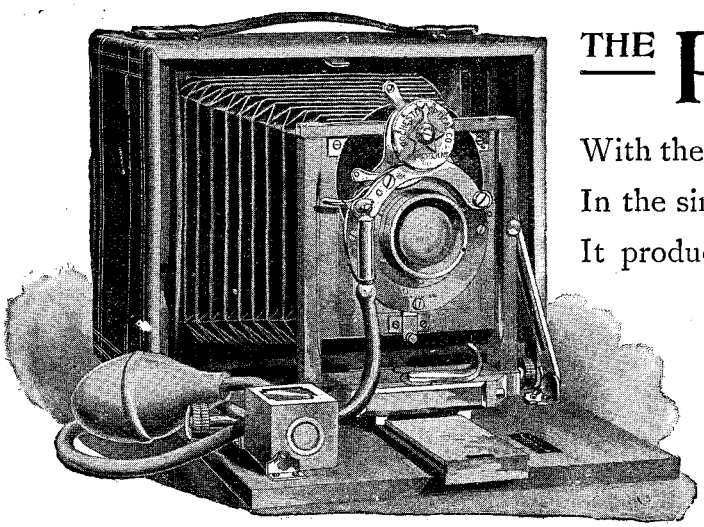

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WRITERS IN THE APRIL FORUM.

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN (*Deficiency of Revenue the Cause of our Financial Ills*), born at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1823, was a Republican member of Congress from Ohio 1855–61; was a United States Senator from Ohio 1861–77; was Secretary of the Treasury under President Hayes 1877–81; and has since occupied a seat in the Senate. He has been intimately associated with financial legislation during and after the Civil War.

THE RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE, M.P. (*Two South African Constitutions*), is Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. He was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Mr. Gladstone's last Ministry. He is best known to Americans by his elaborate work on "The American Commonwealth," which has achieved especial popularity and success. His present article is the result of original researches made during a recent visit to South Africa.

PROFESSOR A. W. WRIGHT (*The Cathode Ray,—its Character and Effects*), born in Lebanon, Conn., 1836, graduated from Yale College in 1859, where he now occupies the chair of experimental physics.

PRESIDENT J. G. SCHURMAN (*Teaching,—A Trade or a Profession?*), born in Freetown, P. E. I., 1854, was graduated from London University in 1877. After several years' service in Canadian universities he became a member of the faculty of Cornell University, of which institution he became president in 1892.

MRS. FRANK H. WINSTON (*Foibles of the New Woman*), a resident of New Mexico, has studied the "Woman Question" for many years and published numerous articles on the subject.

MR. WILLIAM MORRIS (*The Present Outlook of Socialism in England*), born in 1834, was educated at Oxford. He intended entering the Church but finally decided to devote himself to literature and the arts. His first book of poems, "The Defense of Guinevere," appeared in 1858. "The Earthly Paradise," the work by which he is best known, appeared in 1868–70. Since 1882 he has been actively interested in spreading socialistic ideas, by means of lectures, articles, etc.

DR. AUGUST FOURNIER (*Francis Joseph and his Realm*), professor of history in the University of Prague and a member of the Vienna Reichsrath (Parliament), was born in Vienna in 1850.

PROFESSOR BRANDER MATTHEWS (*On Pleasing the Taste of the Public*) was born in 1852 in New Orleans; graduated from Columbia College Law School in 1873; was admitted to the bar the same year, but turned his attention to literature, making a specialty of dramatic criticism. Prof. Matthews has published a number of books, and he is the author of several plays which have been acted.

PROFESSOR JAMES HOWARD GORE (*Holland's Care for its Poor*), born in Virginia, 1856, occupies the chair of mathematics at Columbian University, Washington, D. C. Prof. Gore was Commissioner-General for the United States to the International Expositions at Antwerp and Amsterdam.

MR. J. W. MILLER (*Rumors of War and Resultant Duties*), formerly an officer in the navy, has taken an active part in the development of the naval militia of the State of New York, and has been commander of the New York Naval Battalion since its organization.

MR. RICHARD HODGSON (*Glimmerings of a Future Life*) was born in 1855, and early in life was strongly attracted by problems concerning the occult. He is secretary of the American Society for Psychical Research.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Succeeding numbers of THE FORUM will contain a review of "MODERN NORWEGIAN LITERATURE" by BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON, the Norwegian poet, novelist, and dramatist. His first paper (which will appear in the May FORUM) closes with a critical estimate of IBSEN'S work—its influence and significance.

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WRITERS IN THE MAY FORUM.

MR. E. L. GODKIN (*The Political Situation*), born in 1831, began his journalistic career in New York in 1862, and in 1865 established "The Nation." In 1881 he became editor also of the New York "Evening Post."

MR. WILLIAM SALOMON (*A Salutary Mandate to the National Conventions*), born in Mobile, Alabama, October, 1852, is a member of the firm of Speyer & Co., New York, one of the leading international banking-houses of the United States.

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE (*Our Duty to Cuba*), born in Boston, Mass., 1850, was graduated from Harvard in 1871, and from the Law School in 1875. He was elected to the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses. In 1893 he was elected to the United States Senate.

PROFESSOR JOHN BASSETT MOORE (*The Question of Cuban Belligerency*), born in Delaware in 1860, was educated at the University of Virginia, and admitted to the bar in 1883. In 1885 he was appointed to a position in the Department of State, and later became Third Assistant Secretary of State. In 1891 he was elected professor of international law and diplomacy in Columbia College.

MISS CLARE DE GRAFFENRIED (*Need of Better Homes for Wage-Earners*) was born and educated in Georgia. After teaching for a time in Washington, she was appointed special agent of the United States Department of Labor, in which capacity she has investigated social and economic conditions here and abroad.

MR. M. A. MIKKELSEN (*The Cultivation of Vacant City Lots*) was born in Wisconsin in 1865. In 1892 he took the Ph.D. degree at the Johns Hopkins University, his special studies being history, political economy, and historical jurisprudence.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON (*Modern Norwegian Literature*), poet and novelist, was born at Österdalen, Norway, 1832, and was educated at the University of Christiania. In the earlier part of his career he was a successful journalist. His stories and novels of Norwegian peasant life, as well as his numerous and powerful dramas—whose material has been taken from the sagas, from recent history, and from modern life,—have given him a high and enduring place in the literature of his country, while they have also won him wide fame beyond it.

MR. A. S. VAN DE GRAAFF (*The Unaided Solution of the Southern Race Problem*), born at Gainesville, Alabama, in 1859, was graduated from Yale in 1881, and admitted to the Alabama bar in 1884.

DR. WILHELM REIN (*Pestalozzi and Herbart*), was born in Eisenach in 1847. He studied pedagogy under Prof. Stoy, whom, in 1885, he succeeded in the chair of Pedagogy in the University of Jena. Dr. Rein is the leader of the Herbartian movement in education and an eminent authority on the science of pedagogy.

MR. J. GENNADIUS (*Modern Archæology: Recent Excavations in Greece*) was born in Athens in 1853. After completing his studies there, he entered upon a diplomatic career, in which he has achieved signal success, serving his country in Constantinople, London, Vienna, The Hague, and Washington.

MR. H. K. CARROLL (*Is the Power of Christianity Waning?*—No!) was born at Dennisville, N. J., in 1847. His present article is based upon an extensive experience which he had as special agent for the compilation of church statistics in the last census.

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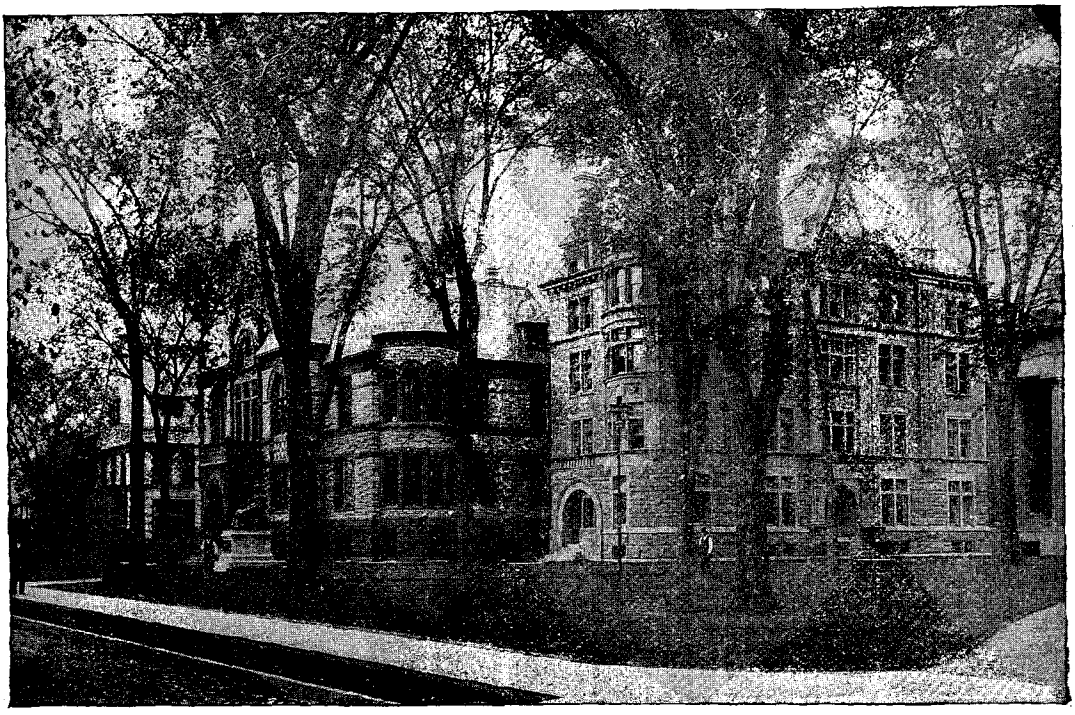
THE EMMA WILLARD SCHOOL, TROY, N.Y.



FORMERLY THE TROY FEMALE SEMINARY.

WITH the change in name of this historic school has come a complete reorganizing of its work. The new curriculum affords a full preparation for all colleges open to women, a four-years course for which the diploma of the school is given, and advanced work for special and graduate students. Parents desiring to secure for their daughters opportunities for advanced work without subjecting them to the strain imposed by the large numbers to be found in most of our best colleges, will be interested to study the catalogue of this school.

The school is now under the charge of Miss Mary Alice Knox, A.B., for several years past a professor in Wellesley College. The faculty is composed almost entirely of college graduates who have specialized in their various departments. Five of the most prominent colleges—Columbia, Cornell, Wellesley, Vassar, and Elmira—are now represented in the faculty, and others are soon to be added to the list. Native French and German teachers are resident in the school. The department of music offers instruction in all branches, including piano, pipe-organ, violin, and voice; the department of art, in drawing from cast and life, modeling in clay, crayon-portraiture and pastel, and landscape, marine, and decorative painting. Recitals are given each month by the department of music, and two exhibitions are made each year by the department of art.

The library of the school is growing constantly, and is much in demand for reference work. The beautiful new city library is just across the street from the school property, and will be open to the pupils for their use, while the fine State library at Albany is within easy reach. The electric cars running between Troy and Albany have their Troy terminus at the corner next the school property.

The government of the school is co-operative. The few rules that are in force are enacted by the whole body of faculty and pupils, while the executive power is vested in a committee composed of representatives from the faculty and from the different classes.

Three new buildings afford exceptional accommodations. The Gurley Building furnishes the class-rooms, laboratories, library, etc.; the Plum Building the organ-room, the studios and offices for music and art; while the Russell Sage Hall is used entirely as a home. This latter building will accommodate something over fifty pupils. The rooms, accommodating two pupils each, are arranged with a study and alcove. Each room is provided with two closets and double sets of furniture, including two single beds which are in the alcove. There are a few single rooms. The domestic arrangements are like those of a well-appointed home, and are in charge of a most efficient housekeeper. All the buildings are fire-proof, and are built and finished in the most substantial and artistic manner.

Arrangements are being made for securing a field for out-of-door sports, for the use of the school. It is proposed to provide for golf and tennis at once, and for basket-ball and other games as there is demand for them.

Entertainments of a high order of excellence will be furnished for the school, and opportunities for attending fine concerts, lectures, and other entertainments are found both in Troy and Albany.

Applicants for the boarding department must be at least fourteen years of age, and must present certificates of good health, character, and scholarship.

The 83d year will open on September 23d, 1896.

All correspondence should be addressed to

Mary Alice Knox, Principal.

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WRITERS IN THE JUNE FORUM.

SENATOR JOHN H. MITCHELL (*Election of Senators by Popular Vote*) was born in Pennsylvania, 1835. He studied and practised law there, and in 1860 removed to Oregon. In 1862 he was elected as a Republican to the State Senate. He was elected to the United States Senate, 1872, re-elected in 1885, and again in 1891.

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON (*Modern Norwegian Literature*) was born at Österdalen, Norway, 1832, and was educated at the University of Christiania. He has won wide and enduring fame by his stories and novels of Norwegian peasant life, as well as by his numerous and powerful dramas.

PROFESSOR WM. G. SUMNER (*The Fallacy of Territorial Extension*), born in Paterson, N. J., 1840, was graduated from Yale in 1863, and studied at Göttingen and Oxford Universities. Since 1872 he has been professor of political and social science at Yale University. He is an eminent authority in his special fields.

COLONEL THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON (*A Keats Manuscript*) was born at Cambridge, Mass., 1823. The earlier part of his career was spent in the ministry, from which he retired in 1858. For many years he has been recognized as one of our ablest and most versatile writers.

PROFESSOR F. W. BLAÇKMAR (*The Promises of Democracy: Have They Been Fulfilled?*), a native of Pennsylvania, was educated at the University of the Pacific, and at Johns Hopkins University, where he was afterward instructor and fellow in history and politics. Since 1889, he has been professor of history and sociology in the Kansas State University.

MISS MARY MILLS PATRICK (*Education of Women in Turkey*) is the president of the American College for Girls in Constantinople. Her educational work, extending over a number of years, among the women of Turkey, entitles her to write with authority on the subject.

DR. M. M. MANGASARIAN (*Armenia's Impending Doom: Our Duty*) was born in Constantinople, where his Armenian parents were temporarily residing. He was educated in that city, and after graduation came to this country and took a theological course at Princeton, N. J. After a four years' pastorate of a Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia, he withdrew his adherence to orthodox teachings. He was associated in New York with Prof. Felix Adler in the work of the Society of Ethical Culture until called in 1891 to Chicago. He is a man of intense conviction, eloquent speech, and broad scholarship; and is an indefatigable worker in behalf of his oppressed countrymen.

PROFESSOR THOMAS DAVIDSON (*The Democratization of England*) was born in Aberdeenshire, in 1840. In 1866 he came to America, where he spent several years in teaching. He is a profound student and able writer on mediæval literature and art, and has also given much attention to educational and political questions.

MLLE. LOUISE DE LA RAMÉE (*Ego, et Rex Meus: A Study of Royalty*), better known as "Ouida," is an English novelist of French extraction. Her works are very numerous, the most famous one being probably "Under Two Flags."

MR. EUGENE V. SMALLEY (*Our Sub-Arid Belt*) was born in Ohio in 1841. Mr. Smalley is the editor of "The North-West Magazine" and is perhaps our best-informed writer on the resources and the development of the great Northwest.

MRS. JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL (*The True Aim of Charity Organization Societies*) was born in Massachusetts in 1843. She is not only a close student of sociological problems, but is one of the foremost practical workers in the relief of distress, to which task her whole life has been devoted.

PROFESSOR WALDO S. PRATT (*The Isolation of Music*) for many years has been professor of music and hymnology in Hartford Theological Seminary.

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WRITERS IN THE JULY FORUM.

HON. WILLIAM EUSTIS RUSSELL (*Jefferson and His Party To-Day*) was born at Cambridge, Mass., in 1857; was graduated from Harvard in 1877; and studied law at the Boston University Law School. In 1885 he was elected mayor of Cambridge. He has since been three times Governor of Massachusetts. Mr. Russell is, by reason of his very unusual career, the most conspicuous of the younger men in our political life, as he is one of the most conscientious and high-minded.

M. PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU (*The Presidential Outlook*), probably the most distinguished living political economist, was born at Saumur, France, 1843. He became professor of political economy at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques at Paris in 1872, and in the same year founded "*l'Économiste français.*"

PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT (*Reasons for an Immediate Arbitration Treaty with England*), born in Boston, Mass., in 1834, was graduated from Harvard College in 1853. In 1869 he was chosen president of Harvard, an office in which he has lately completed a quarter-century of successful leadership in education.

MR. GEORGE WALTON GREEN (*Mr. Cleveland's Second Administration*), born in New York city in 1854, was graduated from Harvard in 1876, and is a member of the New York Bar. Mr. Green was one of the organizers of the Independent Republican bolt in 1884, which led to the nomination of Mr. Cleveland.

HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS (*Studies of Notable Men: Baron de Hirsch*), born in 1850, was graduated from Columbia College in 1871, and from the Law School in 1873. He was Minister to Turkey under Mr. Cleveland's former Administration. He was for many years a close personal friend of the late Baron de Hirsch.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM PETERFIELD TRENT (*Theodore Roosevelt as a Historian*) was born at Richmond, Va., 1862, and graduated from the University of Virginia in 1884. Since 1888 he has been professor of English and History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.

THE VENERABLE DR. C. C. TIFFANY, D.D. (*Cardinal Manning, Anglican and Roman*) was born in Baltimore, Maryland. After graduation from Dickinson College he studied theology at Andover, and afterward studied abroad. For thirty years he has been a clergyman of the Protestant-Episcopal Church, mostly in New York city, and is at present Archdeacon of the diocese of New York.

PROFESSOR FRANCIS G. PEABODY (*Substitutes for the Saloon*) graduated from Harvard University in 1869. He then studied for the Unitarian ministry, and after his ordination preached for a few years in Cambridge, Mass., and then became an instructor in Harvard, where he is now professor of social science.

DR. GOLDWIN SMITH (*Is There Another Life?*), was educated at Eton and Oxford, graduating in 1845. From 1858 to 1866 he was regius professor of modern history at Oxford, visiting America on a lecturing tour in 1864. Since 1871 he has been a member of the Senate of Toronto University. Prof. Smith is the author of a number of noteworthy books, mainly historical, and is a constant contributor to the best periodical literature here and abroad.

DR. MARTIN L. D'OOGE (*President Angell's Quarter-Centennial*) graduated from the University of Michigan in 1862. In 1870 he was appointed to the chair of Greek and, receiving two years' leave of absence, studied abroad. For the last four years he has been Dean of the department of literature, science, and the arts.

GENERAL JULIUS VON VERDY DU VERNOIS (*Moltke and His Generalship*), a Prussian general, military writer, and politician, was born at Freistadt, in Silesia, 1832. He became lieutenant-general in 1881, commander of the first division in 1883, and was minister of war 1889–90, when he retired from active service. He was one of the late General Moltke's most intimate friends.

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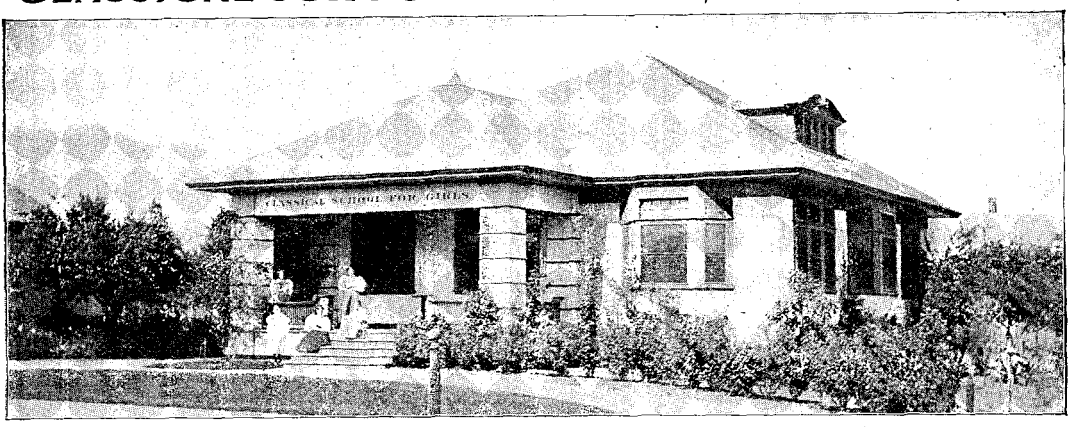


THE Classical School for Girls is one of the features of the beautiful town of Pasadena, in the far-famed San Gabriel Valley of Southern California. Lying at the foot of the Sierra Madre mountains, which here rise to a height of 6,000 feet, with its warm, sunny winters and matchless climate, Pasadena is an ideal location for a school, and makes possible an out-of-door life most helpful to the physical and mental growth of students.

The School was established in 1890 by Miss Anna B. Orton, the present Principal, a daughter of the late Prof. James Orton, of Vassar College. It aims to provide a thorough preparation for college, and offers pupils not intending to enter college, a second course of study in which a modern language may be substituted for Latin. The teachers in this department strive to train the mind as well as the tongue, and to impart to the pupils not a mere talking facility, but a conception of the spirit of the language and a good knowledge of its literature.

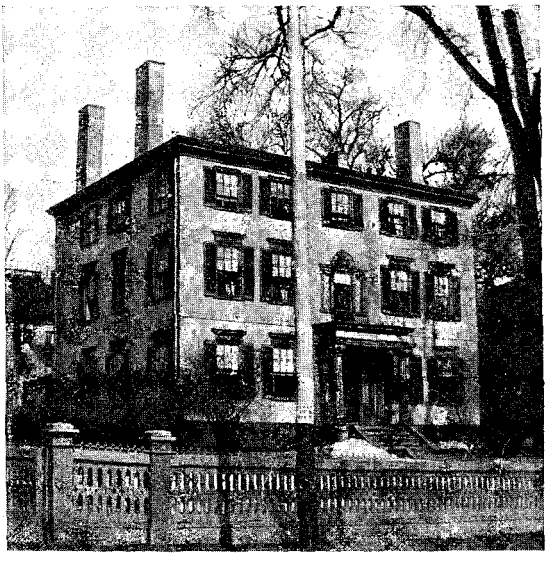
Unusual advantages are offered in music, of which department Herr Thilo Becker of Leipsic is director. He is an exponent of the Krause Method, and is highly recommended by celebrated musicians, both as pianist and teacher. The violin is taught by a graduate of the Paris Conservatory, and vocal music by a pupil of Marchesi.

The department of drawing and painting is in charge of a graduate of the School of Art and Design, at South Kensington, England, who has exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, and the Dresden Gallery.

The school-building was designed expressly for the work of the School, and is built in the style of architecture most suited to the country. The rooms are large, sunny, and well ventilated, and the grounds provide plenty of opportunities for open-air exercise. Delicate girls who are frequently obliged to suspend their studies at home, are here able to pursue them without detriment to their health. Send for catalogue.

MR. AND MRS. JOHN A. BELLOWS' SCHOOL, PORTLAND, MAINE.

ONE of the most meritorious and best known preparatory schools in the Pine Tree State is Mr. and Mrs. John A. Bellows' Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies, at No. 91 Danforth Street, Portland, Maine. The School was founded nearly eight years ago, and by the excellence of its work has commended itself to a number of the most widely known educators in New York and Boston.



The school building, as will be seen from the accompanying illustration, is a large, roomy structure, set in an ample enclosure. It is fitted throughout with sanitary plumbing, and the rooms, which are large, airy, and sunny, are all steam-heated. The number of boarding pupils is limited to eight. It is the aim of Mr. and Mrs. Bellows to make the home-life regular, wholesome and pleasant, all practical details being managed with reference to the well-being of the inmates.

With an unusually well-equipped faculty of ten instructors, the School prepares students for any co-educational or women's college in the country. The Principal's certificate admits pupils to Wellesley and Smith without examination. It is the object of the School, not only to impart knowledge, but to inspire the young women with a desire to learn, and to bring out all that tends to noble womanhood and true scholarship.

Strict attention is given to the teaching of English in both preliminary and higher branches, particular care being bestowed upon correct articulation and pronunciation, both in speaking and reading aloud. Especial importance is attached to the study of the various branches of history, as the foundation of a sound scholarship and broad culture. Considerable time is given to English and general literature, of which the study of the great poets is a special feature. Greek, Latin, French, and German are taught by competent teachers, conversation in the latter two being a feature of exercises in grammar and translation. Classes are formed for the study of the history of art in all its branches, and thorough instruction given in mathematics and the sciences.

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WRITERS IN THE AUGUST FORUM.

MR. CHARLES S. GLEED (*Mr. Godkin on the West: A Protest*), born in Vermont in 1856, was educated at the University of Kansas. He entered journalism, and became editor-in-chief of the Denver "Daily Tribune." He was subsequently connected with the Union Pacific and Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé railroads. He took a prominent part in the reorganization of the latter road, and is now one of its directors.

MR. THEODORE S. VAN DYKE (*The Financial Bronco*), a recently converted silverite, was born in New Jersey in 1842, graduated from Princeton in 1863, and since 1867 has lived in the West.

M. JULES SIMON (*A French College Sixty Years Ago*)—a distinguished French statesman, philosopher, and publicist—was born at Lorient, France, in 1814, and died in Paris on June 8 of the present year. He was a life member of the French Senate, member of the French Academy, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and was Prime Minister of France 1876–77.

MR. WILLIAM MACDONALD (*The Next American University*), born in Providence, R. I., in 1863, is professor of history and political science in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

MR. JOSEPH B. BISHOP (*Social and Economic Influence of the Bicycle*) was graduated from Brown University in 1870. After thirteen years' service on the "New York Tribune," he became, in 1883, an editorial writer on the "New York Evening Post."

MR. W. H. MALLOCK (*Altruism in Economics*), born in Devonshire, England, 1849, was educated at Balliol College, Oxford. He is a brilliant and versatile writer, and a recognized authority on social and economic subjects.

SENATOR JUSTIN S. MORRILL (*The Free-Coinage Epidemic*), the oldest and most distinguished member of the Senate, was born at Strafford, Vermont, April 14, 1810. He was a member of Congress from Vermont 1855–67, and has since occupied a seat in the United States Senate. He is chiefly known in connection with the so-called Morrill tariff, which was reported by him in the House in 1861.

SENATOR SHELBY M. CULLOM (*Blunders of a Democratic Administration*) was born in Kentucky, 1829; went to Springfield, Illinois, in 1853, where he acted as city attorney until he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1865, of which body he was a member until 1871. He was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, and he placed General Grant in nomination. He was also a delegate to the National Republican Convention of 1884; was elected Governor of Illinois in 1876, and again in 1880. In 1883 he resigned, having been elected to the United States Senate. He was reelected in 1888.

GENERAL HORACE PORTER (*What the Republican Party Stands For*) was born at Huntington, Pennsylvania, in 1837. He graduated from West Point in 1860; was a member of General Grant's staff from 1864 to the end of the war; and served as his private secretary 1869–73. He was breveted brigadier-general, and resigned from the army in 1873.

REV. JULIUS H. WARD (*Harriet Beecher Stowe*), born in Charlton, Mass., in 1837, was graduated from Yale in 1860, and from the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., in 1862, and immediately afterward took orders in the Episcopal Church. He served several churches in various New England States as rector until 1878, since which time he has devoted himself to literary work. In 1877 he was one of the editors of the "North American Review."

MR. J. GENNADIUS (*Modern Archæology: Recent Excavations in Greece*) was born in Athens in 1853. After completing his studies there, he entered upon a diplomatic career, in which he has achieved signal success, serving his country in Constantinople, London, Vienna, The Hague, and Washington, attaining the highest diplomatic rank.

MR. EDWARD CARY (*The Matrimonial Market*), born in Albany, N. Y., in 1840, is a graduate of Union College and Albany Law School. Since 1871 he has been an editorial writer on the "New York Times."

MR. GEORGE STEWART (*Significance of the Canadian Elections*) was born in 1848. Since 1879 he has been editor-in-chief of the "Quebec Chronicle."

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